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OF

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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AND

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The following papers are ready or in a forward state of preparation for Part IV :—

Siyadoṇi Inscription; by Prof. F. Kielhorn.
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ERRATA.

Page 12, line 15, *for* 1700 A. D. *read* 700 A.D.
" 14, 3rd and 4th footnotes to be numbered [14] and [15].
" 15, line 8, *debete* [19].
" " " 24, *for* [5] *read* [19].

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Dated 28-1-91
DISTRICT

L. 8. सत्यं हरेरप्युपरि त्वमेव सन्तिष्ठसे नि[ष्ठु]रवीर्यधाम्नः ॥ [७॥] [24]
[म]लादिहृदयाह्लादिद[र्श]नतो दिने दिने।
बहुदेहान्तर[स्था]ण[स्त्व]मेव किल कथ्यसे ॥ [८] [25]

L. 9. प्रसरन्मरीचिचयचन्द्रचारुणा वदनेन राजसितरामतिश्रिणा।
बहुशोणिमादिगुणसम्पदालयौ परिपूजयन्ति चरणौ तवामराः ॥ [९॥] [26]

L. 10. त्रैलोक्यजनन्यां त्वयि करुणावति युज्यते नृणां भक्तिः।
त्रैलो[क्या]न्तर्निलयं त्वं हि [ज]नं नयसि परमपदम् ॥ [१०॥] [27]
गिरिजेशाधिखिलो[स्त्रि]

L. 11. त्वं गतिर्भव साम्प्रतम् [।]
संसारसागराच्चेतो भोरु मे नीयतां शमम् ॥ [११॥]
शिवायैकविनम्रभव्यपुण्यपादाग्रपांसवे।
तुभ्यं[ष्टुभ्य]द्रिपुध्वंसम -

L. 12. हाशक्तिमते नमः ॥ [१२॥] [28]
चन्चचापलसद्दृष्टिविषमेषु प्रयोजक[:।]
त्रैलो[क्ये]स्त्रीजनो यो त्र तस्य त्वमधिदैवतम् [॥१३॥] [29]
[शोभि]ता[नां] त्रिभिर्नेत्रैर्म्ह[डा]नि -

L. 13. शरणैषिणाम् [।]
वपुश् श्रीमदविध्वंसं विधातुं प्रजगल्भिषे ॥ [१४]
आपत्कलापमेलापपरितापप्रलापिनम् [।]
गौरीशास्ति विमोहात्कं [कस्त्वा]तुम -

L. 14. परः क्षमः ॥ [१५॥] [30]
शर्वाणिमानं त्वद्भक्ता यान्ति सर्वातिशायिनम्।
प्रसीद मातस्संसाराच्छीघ्रमेव विमोचय ॥ [१६॥] [31]
गाढा गजानने प्रीतिस्स[र्वमो]हि व -

L. 15. पुस्सदा।
उद्दीपितस्मरा दृष्टिर्यस्यास्ते तत्पदं नुमः ॥ [१७॥] [32]
इति रामेण निरामय समसुमया यन्मया स्तुतोसि विभो[।]
श्रुत्वा तमभीधीकुरु परिश्रमं

L. 16. परमकारुणिक ॥ [१८॥]
एकोक्त्या स्तोत्रमिदं गौरीश्वरयो× पठन्ति ये भक्त्या।
तेषामप्यभिलाषस्सिध्यतु शिवयो× प्रसादेन ॥ [१९॥] [33]
इति गौरीश्वरस्तोत्रम् ॥ ।

[24] Metre, Upajâti. The *u* of *apyupari* is almost gone.
[25] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[26] Metre, Mañjubhâshiṇî.
[27] Metre, Âryâ.
[28] Metre of verses 11-12, Anushṭubh.
[29] Metre, Anushṭubh. Read *chañchachchâpa°*
[30] Metre of verses 14-15, Anushṭubh.
[31] Metre, Anushṭubh. The *anusvâra* of *śarvâṇimânam* has run together with the *śśrî* in the upper line.
[32] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[33] Metre of verses 18-19, Âryâ.

L. 17. . अस्ति शीतलगभस्तिशेखर त्वत्प्रशस्तिकरणेऽकुतोर्हता।
किन्तु पावकमयात्त तावकी भक्तिरेव जडतां भनक्ति नः ॥ [२०]॥ [34]
अद्यापि विस्मापयिता -

L. 18. र एते विद्यन्त एवेश्वरभक्तिमन्तः [।]
विचित्रचारित्रनिधिर्यथैष राजानको लक्ष्मणचन्द्रनामा ॥ [२१॥]
केदारयात्रां विरचय्य येन विशोधनीं प्राप्त -

L. 19. नदुष्कृतस्य।
इत× परं सर्वपरस्त्रियो मे स्वसार इत्येव कृता प्रतिज्ञा ॥ [२२॥] [35]
किमेतदाश्चर्यमवार्यवीर्यैर्यदेष योधैर्युधि दुष्प्रध[र्षैः][।]
धनु -

L. 20. धराणां धुरि यो मनोभू र्बभूव तस्याप्यविधेय एव ॥ [२३॥] [36]
अद्यीश्वरा मन्दपराक्रमत्वं मत्वा विपक्षैरवधारिताज्ञाः [।]
[व]रस्त्र्यनारीहठस[ङ्ग]मेन

L. 21. पुराधिपत्यं सफलं विदन्ति ॥ [१४॥] [37]
नवं वयो रूपमधि[श्रि] दातृता पुराधिपत्यं बहव× प्रियङ्कराः [।]
तथापि चेत× परदारवर्जि चे त्किमस्ति दुस्साधमत× प-

L. 22. रं तपः ॥ [२५॥] [38]
राजानकस्य प्रविशद्बुद्धे× पाणि× कृपाणग्रहणप्रवीणः [।]
विवजयामास विगर्हितानि तस्य[ा]न्यनारीस्तनमर्दनानि ॥ [२६॥] [39]
तस्यास्ति

L. 23. देसेत्र वणिक् प्रसिद्धस्सिद्धात्मजो मन्युकनामधेयः [।]
छिन्नेत्यविच्छिन्नमहेशभक्तेर्मातावदातचरितस्य य[स्य] ॥ [२७॥] [40]
यस्याङ्[का]ख्योस्त्यविभक्तवित्तो

L. 24. भ्राता कनिष्ठस्सुकृतैकनिष्ठः [।]
व्यग्रा समग्रातिथिपूजनाय गुल्हेति गर्हारहिता च भा[र्या] ॥ [२८] [41]
भक्ति[द्रुवाटे] भसलेन ते[न] [स]भ्रातृकेन त्रिपु-

L. 25. रान्तकस्य।
द्वारस्थगङ्गायमुनादिमूर्ति× कृता पुरीयं सह मण्डपेन ॥ [२९॥] [42]
भस्त्रागर्भगृहीतसर्वविभवा नेदिष्ठदेशे क्वचि द्ये कुर्वन्ति गतागता -

[34] Metre, Rathoddhatâ. The *avagraha* before *kutorhatâ* is indicated by a thin vertical line. The inscription has prima manu *tâvikî*, which has been corrected to *tâvakî*. After this verse stands a sign which looks like a rude representation of a *yoni* and *liṅga* united.

[35] Metre of verses 21-22, Upajâti.

[36] Metre, Upendravajrâ.

[37] Metre, Upajâti.

[38] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[39] Metre, Upajâti.

[40] Metre Indravajrâ. Read *deśe*.

[41] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[42] Metre, Upajâti. *Druvâṭe* is a conjecture and uncertain.

L. 26. नि वणिजो गण्या वराका × क्त ते ।
धन्यो मन्युकनामधेय इह हि श्रीकण्ठरज्यन्मन× -
पोतप्रोतविवेकवेतनधनो मोहार्णवं तीर्णवान् ॥ [३०॥] [43]
देवद्विजगु - [illegible]

L. 27. रुभक्तस्सौजन्यनिधिर्गुणिप्रियो दाता ।
आसुकसुतोस्ति विप्रो रल्हणनामा सुशर्मपुरे ॥ [३१] [44]
तेन दैवज्ञधुर्येण धान्यद्रोणद्वयं शिवे ।
वहमान[स्व]भूपृ -

L. 28. ष्ठात्रवग्रामात्समर्पितम् ॥ [३२॥] -
इहत्येन नवग्रामादत्ता चा[त्र] ह[लार्ध]भूः [।]
गणेश्वरेण गोविन्दद्विजपुत्रेण धीमता ॥ [३३॥] [45]
देपिकाङ्गजनितेन मल्हिका -

L. 29. सूनना विततवित्तशालिना ।
जीवकेन वणिजा निजा च भू× प्राङ्गणाय पुरतश् शिवेर्पिता ॥ [३४॥] [46]
[या]वदे[ष] भगवा[न्भुवाम्प]ति व्योम कोम[लरु]चिश्च ग[ाह] -

L. 30. ते ।
मन्युकाहु[कक्कत]श् शिवालयस्तावदस्तु सममन्यसासनः ॥ [३५] [47]
आसिकात्मज उ[दा]रधी[र्व]स न्सूत्रधारधुरि नायकाभिधः ।
श्रीसुश[र्म]-

L. 31. नगरादिहाययौ [सम्म]नस्य तनयश्च ठोढुकः ॥ [३६॥]
तेन तेन च सहैव टङ्किता प्रोन्नता शिवपुरी समण्डपा ।
[शा]मुदृष्टिमनुसृत्य नि[र्मि]-

L. 32. ता यत्र भान्ति गणवर्गमू[र्तयः ॥३७॥] [48]
शृङ्गाराभृङ्गकौ यस्य पितरौ पुण्यशालिनौ ।
स प्रशस्तिमिमां चक्रे रामनामा क[वी]श्वरः [॥३८॥] [49]
संवत्सरेशीतितमे[प्र]स[न्ने] [ज्येष्ठ]स्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च ।
[श्री]म[ज्ज]यच्चन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये रवे[र्दि]ने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः ॥ [३९॥] [50]
॥श्रीं नमश् शिवाय ॥

L. 35. [शककालगताब्दाः] - [51]

[43] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] Metre, Âryâ.

[45] Metre of verses 32-33, Anushṭubh.

[46] Metre, Rathoddhatâ. Read *sûnunâ*. The *ra* of *prâṅgaṇâya* is indistinct.

[47] Metre, Rathoddhatâ. Perhaps *bhuvaspatiḥ*. Possibly the stone has a mistake *esa* for *esha*. A letter, probably *ma*, has been scratched out between the two *mas* of *samam*. Read °*Śâsanaiḥ*. After this verse stands a sign which looks like the rude representation of a lotus.

[48] Metre of verses 36-37, Rathoddhatâ. The name in verse 36 may also be read *Masmanasya* or *Sasmanasya*.

[49] Metre, Anushṭubh. Read *kaviśvaraḥ*, which is probable according to *C*.

[50] Metre, Upajâti. Regarding the end of the first Pâda see above, the introduction. Possibly *jyeshṭhasya* may be the reading of the stone. This is the usual form for the name of the month in the inscriptions. As Râma evidently was a good grammarian, one may give him the benefit of the doubt.

[51] See the introduction, above, p. 103.

TRANSLATION.

Om, hail! Om, obeisance to the two rulers of the Gaṇas![52]

V. 1. Though, O Paśupati, I am only running after folly,[53] yet art thou, supreme lord, invoked by me who am subdued by great devotion, together with Gaurî, in this hymn which possesses some portion of sentiment, sweet to the ear.

2*a*. Our devotion (*is*) to thee alone, who cuttest the bonds[54] of those bending (*before thee*) who art able to save men submerged in the hidden well of delusion, who alone grantest incomparable joy, who art difficult to reach, who takest away . . . . who art praised by Hari, Brahman and the other gods, grantest security, (*and*) art (*our*) three-eyed lord.

b. Our devotion (*is*) to thee alone, three-eyed lady, O thou (*who art*) a knife to cut the bonds of those bending (*before thee*) O thou (*who art*) able to save men submerged in the hidden well of delusion, O thou (*who*) alone grantest incomparable joy, O Durgâ O thou who takest away . . . . . O thou who art praised by Hari, Brahman and the other gods, O thou who grantest security!

3*a*. Thou art ever praised as the elephant (*who effects*) the destruction of (*that*) creeper—misery—together with its roots, thou art the creator of the world, there is no limit to thy greatness here; (*to call*) thee, O god, creator, is the only fitting mode of address for us; and thou hauntest the burial-grounds, covered with pyres.

b. Thou art ever praised as the destroyer of (*that*) creeper—misery—together with its roots; thou art the mother of the world; there is no limit to thy greatness here; (*to call*) thee mother of the gods is the only fitting mode of address for us; and thou dwellest in the dense woods of (*thy*) father (*Himâlaya*).[55]

4*a*. Some blessed beings bow at the feet of him whose exceeding beauty is enhanced by a garland of snakes.

b. Some blessed beings bow at the feet of her whose exceeding beauty enhances the excellence of the Himâlaya.[56]

5*a*. By blessed-men, who are filled with devotion to Abhirâma (*Śiva*), thou art always called, O Ugra, a female (*Ardhanârî*) and thou art celebrated by the charming songs of poets as the remover of trouble.

b. By blessed men who are lovely on account of their great devotion, thou art ever called the bride of Ugra, and thou art celebrated by the songs of poets, charming through their style, as the remover of trouble.[57]

[52] "The two rulers of the Gaṇas," *i.e.*, Śiva and Pârvatî.

[53] I translate *kumatidra* on the analogy of *madhudra*, "a bee" and explain it by *kumatiṁ drâti*. Râma no doubt means to say that he has not yet reached that stage of wisdom which a true devotee of Śiva ought to have, but lives still in the world.

[54] The translation of this verse and the following ones, marked *a*, refers always to Śiva, that marked *b* to Pârvatî. *Pâśa*, 'the bond or fetter,' is a term, commonly used in Śaiva philosophy—see *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*, p. 113 (Cowell and Gough).

[55] Pârvatî is characterised as a deity of the forest by her name *kântâravâsinî*.

[56] Separate with the first translation, *yasya ahimâlayâ utkarshaposhiṇî* . . . *tasya ânamanti*: with the second *yasyâ himâlayotkarshaposhiṇî* . . . *tasyâ ṅamanti*.

[57] Separate with the first translation, *ugra vadhûḥ* . . . . *kleśâpaharîti manoharâbhiḥ* with the second *ugravadhûḥ* . . . . . *kleśâpahâ rîtimanoharâbhiḥ*. As Abhirâmâ is a name of Śiva, see Goldstücker, *Sanskrit Dictionary, sub voce*. I take the compound *bhaktibharâbhirâmaiḥ* in the first translation to mean *bhaktibharaḥ abhirâme yeshâṁ taiḥ*. In the second I have rendered its usual sense, *bhaktibhareṇâbhirâmaiḥ*. But I should not wonder if Abhirâmâ were a name of Pârvatî and the real sense were "who are filled with devotion to Abhirâmâ."

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6*a*. Thou, O Îśa, art able, indeed, to fulfil the wish of men who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (*but*) desire (*eternal*) bliss.

b. Bhavânî, indeed, is able to fulfil the wish of those who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (*but*) seek (*her*) protection.[58]

7*a*. Thou alone standest, indeed, even above Hari, who again and again takes repose in the ocean, who drank the stream (*of blood*) from (*the body of*) the demon slain in a playful fight, and who possesses a brilliancy of fierce strength.

b. Thou alone ridest, indeed, even on a lion, who again and again is lying (*curled up*) like a ring, who drinks the streams of the blood of those slain (*by thee*) in the battle-play, and who possesses fierce power.[59]

8*a*. In accordance with the teaching which removes impurity and the other (*fetters*) and gladdens by (*granting*) happiness thou art, indeed, called every day the Sthâṇu (*immovable âtman*) in many different bodies.

b. On account of thy appearance which gladdens the hearts of those possessing impurity (*as their*) chief (*element*), thou art, indeed, called the minute (*Śakti*) residing in many different bodies.[60]

9*a*. Thou art exceedingly resplendent with thy countenance surpassing the goddess Śrî and beautified through the (*crescent of the*) moon from which numerous rays issue forth; the immortals worship in manifold wise thy feet, the abode of a multitude of qualities, smallness and so forth.

b. Thou art exceedingly resplendent with a countenance which surpasses the goddess Śrî and which is beautiful like the moon from which a multitude of rays issue forth; the immortals worship thy feet, the abode of a multitude of good qualities, great redness and so forth.[61]

10*a*. Devotion to thee, the leader of men in the three worlds, the compassionate one, is suitable for men; for thou leadest men to the highest place, into which the three worlds are absorbed.

b. Devotion to thee, the mother of the three worlds, O compassionate one, is suitable for men; for thou leadest, &c.

11*a*. Lord of the daughter of the Mountain, I am tormented by sorrows; be thou now my refuge; lead thou my fearful soul out of the ocean of births to (*eternal*) rest.

b. Daughter of the Mountain, rule me; I am tormented, be thou now my refuge, &c.[62]

12*a*. Obeisance to Śiva, the dust of whose holy feet must alone be worshipped; to thee who possessest great power to destroy thy trembling foes.

b. Obeisance to Śivâ the dust of whose holy feet must be worshipped by poets; to thee, O thou who art known as the great Power (*able*) to destroy her trembling foes.[63]

[58] Separate with the first translation in pâda 3, *satyaṁ bhavân îśa raṇâbhilâshiṇâṁ;* with the second *satyaṁ bhavânî śaraṇâbhilâshiṇâṁ.*

[59] When the verse refers to Śiva, *Hari* means Vishṇu, who every year reposes during four months on Śesha in the ocean who slew the Asura Hiraṇyakaśipu in the Nârasiṁha Avatâra, and who, being also a solar deity, possesses a fierce brilliancy unbearable to the eye. When the verse refers to Pârvatî *Hari* denotes her lion; *samudrâsin* stands for *samudram*, i. e. *mudrayâ sahitaṁ yathâ syât tathâ* and *âsin*, and finally *âsura* means blood and *dhâman* the abode or location.

[60] Separate with the first translation *malâdihṛit-ayâhlâdi-darśanatoḥ* with the second *bahudehântarastha-aṇuḥ.* The *darśana* intended is the Śaiva philosophy of the Kaśmîrians.

[61] Separate with the first translation in Pâda 3, *bahuśaḥ aṇimâdiguṇasampadâlayau*; with the second, the line forms one compound as it is printed. *Aṇiman*, "smallness" means here "the power of making oneself very small" which is one of Śiva's qualities, see also below, verse 16. The "great redness" of Pârvatî's feet is, of course, due to their being dyed with lac.

[62] Separate with the first translation, *girijeśa âdhikhinnaḥ*; with the second, *girije śâdhi khinnaḥ.*

[63] Separate with the first translation, *śivâya ekavinantavya°*, with the second *śivâyai kavinantavya°.*

13*a*. Thou art in these three worlds the supreme deity of the heroes who employ themselves in dangerous (*undertakings and*) whose looks flash on the quivering bow.

b. Thou art in these three worlds the supreme deity of women who lead (*men*) into danger and whose glances flash like a quivering bow.[64]

14*a*. Thou, Mṛiḍa, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek eternal bliss.

b. Thou, Mṛidânî, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek thy protection.[65]

15*a*. Who else, lord of Gaurî, is able to protect from delusion any one who complains of the great pain (*caused*) by the concurrence of a crowd of misfortunes?

b. Gaurî rules him who complains of the great pain (*caused*) by the concurrence of a crowd of misfortunes; who else is able to protect any one?[66]

16*a*. Śarva, thy devotees obtain a power of making themselves small, which surpasses every thing; be gracious, O creator, quickly free (*us*) from the circle of births.

b. Śarvâṇî, thy devotees reach a dwelling that surpasses all others; be gracious, mother, &c.[67]

17*a*. We bow at the feet of him who feels deep affection for the elephant-faced (*Gaṇeśa*), whose (*terrible*) appearance bewilders all, (*and*) whose eye has burnt Cupid.

b. We bow at the feet of thee, who feelest deep affection for the elephant-faced god, whose beauty charms every body (*and*) whose looks kindle love.[68]

18. Hearing, O (*god*) free from (*all*) taint, that, O lord, thou hast thus been praised together with Umâ by me, Râma, make this exertion truly fruitful, most compassionate one!

19. By the grace of Śiva and Śivâ may fulfilment attend the desire of those, too, who with devotion recite this praise of Gaurî and Îśvara (*that*) by a single expression (*always conveys a double sense*).

Here ends the hymn (*addressed*) to Gaurî and Îśvara.

20. There is, O thou who carriest the cold-rayed moon on thy crest, some small merit in making an eulogy of thee, but, O god with the eye of fire, devotion to thee alone destroys our dullness.

21. Even now exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Îśvara[69] like that store of marvellous virtue, the Râjânaka named Lakshmaṇachandra,

22. Who, after performing a pilgrimage to Kedâra, that cleanses from old sin, made even this vow, "Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters for me."

23. What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from assaults by warriors of irresistible bravery, since he, a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not to be subdued even by that (*deity*).

24. At present rulers, whose commands are disregarded by their opponents—

[64] With the second translation it is necessary to read the second line, as it is printed; with the first to separate *trailokye astrîjano*. I take *astrî*, literally not female, as an equivalent of *vîra*. For the second meaning compare *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*, X, sl. 46.

[65] With the first translation separate *mṛiḍa aniśaraṇaishiṇâm*, with the second *mṛiḍâni śaraṇaishiṇâm*.

[66] With the first translation separate in the second line, *gaurîśa asti*, with the second *gaurî śâsti*.

[67] With the first translation separate *śarva aṇimânam* with the second *śarvâṇi mânam*. The word *mâna*, rendered by "dwelling," may also mean "honour" or "pride."

[68] With the first translation separate in the second line *yasya âste*, with the second *yasyâḥ te*.

[69] *Îśvarabhaktimantaḥ* "filled with devotion to Îśvara" means probably also "loyal to their liege-lords."

because they deem them to be of small prowess— think the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of the inhabitants.

25. Fresh youth, beautiful shape, liberality, sovereignty over a town, many flatterers (*all these are his*) ; if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?

26. The hand of this pure-minded Râjânaka, which is expert in wielding the sword, has (*since*) avoided[70] the blamable pressing of the bosoms of the wives of others.

27. In his country there is a well-known merchant, the son of Siddha, named Manyuka; Chinnâ is the mother of that (*man*) whose devotion to Maheśa is uninterrupted and whose life is pure,

28. Whose younger brother, undivided (*from him*) in property and solely intent on pious works, is called Âhuka, and whose blameless wife is named Gulhâ.

29. By him, a bee in the park of devotion, and by his brother, has been erected this temple of the slayer of Tripura, at the doors of which stand the statues of Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ and other (*deities*), together with a Maṇḍapa.

30. In what (*rank*) are those miserable traders to be reckoned, who, taking with them all their wealth in the womb of their pouches, run to and fro somewhere in the nearest country? Blessed is he who is named Manyuka, for he has crossed the ocean of delusion, giving his wealth as the fee for the true knowledge implanted in his heart that is attached to Śrîkaṇṭha (*and thus is*) the boat (*which carries him over*).

31. A man devoted to gods, Brâhmaṇs and Gurus, a store of generosity, a friend of the virtuous and liberal, is the Brâhmaṇa Ralhaṇa, the son of Âsuka, in Suśarmapura.

32. By that chief of astrologers have been given to Śiva two *droṇas* of grain from Navagrâma, where the surface of his land (*has*) the measure of one *Vaha*.[71]

33. Moreover, by an inhabitant of this (*village, Kîragrâma*), wise Gaṇeśvara, the son of the Brâhmaṇ Govinda, has been given to this (*Śiva*) (*a piece of*) land from Navagrâma (*measuring*) half a plough.

34. Further, by the son of Depika and Malhikâ, the very wealthy merchant Jîvaka, has his own land been presented to Śiva for the courtyard in front (*of the temple*).

35. And as long as this divine lord of the worlds with gentle beams dives into the expanse of heaven, so long may this temple of Śiva, built by Manyuka and Âhuka, exist together with the other grants.

36. The high-minded son of Âsika, named Nâyaka, who is at the head of masons, came from Suśarman's town to this (*village*) likewise Ṭhoḍhuka, the son of Sammana.

37. By those two together has the very lofty temple of Śiva been fashioned with the chisel, as well as the *Maṇḍapa*; (*it has been*) constructed in accordance with the opinion of Śâmu[72] and on it glitter the figures of the crowd of the Gaṇas.

38. The prince of poets, called Râma, whose holy parents are Śriṅgârâ and Bhṛiṅgaka, has composed this eulogy.

[70] The perfect *vivarjayâmâsa* probably indicates that this praiseworthy conduct began after his pilgrimage to Kedârnâth.

[71] A *vaha* is equal to four *droṇas* and the meaning is that Ralhaṇa's land in Navagrâma required four *droṇas* of seed-corn.

[72] This must be the name of some writer on architecture.

39. The eulogy, composed by Râma (*has been incised*)[73] in the eightieth year (*of the Lokakâla*) on the pleasant first day of the bright half of the month of Jyaishṭha, a Sunday, during the reign of king Jayachchandra.

Om, obeisance to Śiva! The elapsed years of the Śaka era (*are*) . . 6(?)

No. II—Transcript.

L. 1. श्रीं स्व[स्ति श्रीं]नमश् श[र्वा]य ।
[आशास्यं वो गजास्यो] वितरतु हरता[त्तार]कारिर्विकारं
नन्दी सानन्द[नो]यं भवतु स [च] महाकालशूलस्य [ध]र्ता ।
—

L. 2. — —ो ना ◡ — — [रच]यतु कु [रुतां] वोरभद्रोपि [भ]द्रं
सर्वे वोखर्वगर्वा विदधतु कुशलं किङ्कराश् शङ्करस्य ॥ [१॥][1]
स पातु वो [म]हादेवो — —

L. 3. — भक्तिचुम्बितः [।]
आत्मानं मु[हु]रीक्षन्ते यत्पादनखदर्पणे ॥ [२॥][2]
काष्ठोद्दीपनक[र्म]ठा जगति या या निर्निमेषेक्षणैस्सत्यचै -

L. 4. रुपजीव्यते द्विजजनं या बिभ्रती शस्य[ते] [।]
देवस्याहुतिलम्पटस्य परमा पुष्टिर्यतो [जा]यते ताभिर्मूर्तिभिरष्टभिर्भवतु वो भूत्यै भवानीवि -

L. 5. [भुः]॥ [३॥][3]
एतेनै[व] शरत्वमभ्युपगतं श्लोषाय पूर्वं पुरां संप्राप्त[ा] धनुषश् श्रियं तनुरियं संप्रत्यमुष्यैव च ।
व्यानम्रे हसतीव य[त्सु]र-

L. 6. रिपावित्थं सुहुर्विस्मया इस्मस्मेरमुपास्महे स्मरजित× पादद्वयं [त]द्वयम् ॥ [४॥][4]
यदप्यचेतनत्वाद्दक्तुमशक्तस्सुरालयस्तदपि ।
अ -

L. 7. थ केन [क्ष]तोहमिति प्रशस्तिपृथुजिह्वया वदति ॥ [५॥][5]
ज[ा]लन्धराधिराजो जयति गुणानां निधिर्जयच्चन्द्रः ।
ईदृशि यस्य राज्ये देवायतना -

L. 8. नि जातानि ॥ [६॥]
वित्तं शिवे प्रयुक्तं येषां कालेन भवति कोटिगुणम् ।
ग[ण्यास्त ए]व वणिजश् शेषै× किं स्तोकवा[र्धु]षिकैः ॥ [७॥]
अनेन वक्ष्यमाणेन सुकृतेन महा -

L. 9. नयौ ।
गणौ गणेषु भ्रातरौ भूयास्तां मन्युकाङ्क्षौ ॥ [८॥][6]
तौ भ्रातरौ कृतज्ञौ याभ्यां शमदम[प]योधरयुतायाः ।
शि[व]भक्तिजनन्या [अ] पि रस -

[73] A verb has been intentionally left out in this sentence. It must have been either *utkîrṇâ* or *saṃâptâ*: probably the former. With the reading *prasiddhe* (see above p. 103) the translation would be 'in the eightieth year known (*in the world*)' *i. e.*, 'in the eightieth Laukika Saṁvatsara'.

[1] Metre, Sragdharâ;—*gajâsyo* and *kurutâṁ* are very uncertain.

[2] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[3] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The *u* of °*vibhuḥ* is visible.

[4] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[5] Metre of verses 5—7, Âryâ.

[6] Metre, Anushṭubh.

L. 10. स्समास्वादितस्सार्धम् ॥ [९].[7]
शैलस्याङ्गचलित्वा रुचिरनववया × खेलतीयं सहेलं
कुल्या कन्येव यत्र स्फुरदुरलहरी कन्दुकाबिन्दुकाख्या ।
की -

L. 11. रग्रामोभिरामो गुणगणनिलयो वर्ततेधिव्रिगर्तं
सोयं राजानकेन प्रबलभुजयु[जा रचि]तो लक्ष्मणेन ॥ [१०॥][8]
अतुलकुलबकुलपा[दप]कन्द ⋊ प -

L. 12. रिपन्थिभित्पुरास्कन्दः [।]
राजानकोत्र कन्द⋊ प्रथममभू[द्दु]र्यमस्कन्दः ॥ [११॥][9]
बुद्धो विशुद्धबुद्धिस्तस्य सुतोजनयदुद्धुरं तनयम् ।
विग्रह

L. 13. इति कृतविरहश् शत्रुवधूनां ततो जज्ञे ॥ [१२॥]
विग्रहविग्रहजातो ब्रह्मेति बभूव भूवधूदयितः [।]
विग्रहनिग्रहकरणे शक्तिर्यस्य[ाभ]वद्रि -

L. 14. पुषु ॥ [१३॥][10]
हस्तालम्बकसुव्रताद्विलुठतामाराधितत्र्यम्बकं
शत्रुश्रीपरिचुम्बकं परतिमिस्त्रीकारचिन्तांधकम्[।]
क्रान्तग्रामकदम्बकं नृपतिभिस्सद्बन्धु -

L. 15. [की]टुम्बकं
[स्वा]कारप्रतिबिम्बकं स च कृती लेभे सुतं डोम्बकम् ॥ [१४॥][11]
नारीमोहनयौवनं नवनवत्यागोर्मिभि ⋊ [पा]वनं
भूभर्तु × कृतसेवनं निजभुवस्सम्यक्प्रकृप्ता -

L. 16. वनम् [।]
[उद्दा]मद्विषदालयीकृतवनं युद्धोग्रसिंहस्वनं
पुत्रं सोपि समाससाद भुवनं शम्भौ बृहत्सावनम् ॥ [१५॥][12]
गुणमणिनिकुरुम्बरोहणं प्रव -

L. 17. हणमापदगाधवारिधौ ।
कृतसुभटशिरोधिरोहणं [स]मजनयत्तनयं स कल्हणम् ॥ [१६॥][13]
[जा]लन्धराधीश्वरपादपद्मनिश्छद्मभक्ति⋊ प्रचुरात्मशक्तिः ।

L. 18.
बलोल्वणो बिल्हणनामधेयस्तस्यात्मजोजायत सद्विधेयः ॥ [१७॥][14]
तनयायां सनयस्य व्रिगर्तभूभ[र्तृ]हृदयचन्द्रस्य[।]
[स]च रामलक्ष्मणाख्यौ लक्ष -

[7] Metre, Âryâ.
[8] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[9] Metre, Âryâ. The first *ma* of *prathamama°* looks like *sa*.
[10] Metre of verses 12—13, Âryâ.
[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Mr. J. F. Fleet reads *prâkârapratibimbakam* instead of *svâkâra°*. Read *chintândhakam*.
[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The Anusvâra of *sevanaṁ* is indistinct. *Prakṛiptâvanam* is meant for *prakḷipta°*.
[13] Metre, Aparavaktra. The Anusvâra of *°dhirohanaṁ* is indistinct.
[14] Metre, Upajâti. The *ma* of *nâmadheya* looks like *sa*.

L. 19. णिकायां सुतौ लेभे ॥ [१८॥] [15]
ज्येष्ठे गुणैर्गरिष्ठे बिम्बौष्ठीभिस्समं द्युपुरि गोष्ठीम् ।
अधितिष्ठति निष्ठुरधी[स्तस्य]कनिष्ठोत्र सुप्रतिष्ठोभूत् ॥ [१९॥] [16]
त्रिगर्तनृपतीनां या
L. 20. पादपद्मोपजीविभिः [।]
कन्दादि[भिरा]सन्दारिसन्दारिभिरभुज्यत ॥ [२०॥]
परिपालितवास्तव्यस्तव्यनिर्मलकर्मणा ।
साधुना साधुना भूमिर्लक्ष्मणेनोपभुज्यते ॥ [२१॥] [17]
L. 21. यस्य प्रेयस्यभवन्मयतल्ले[त्य]तुलरूपभद्रमणी ।
तस्मिन्कीरग्रामं लक्ष्मणचन्द्रेनुपालयति ॥ [२२॥] [18]
सिद्धाख्यवणिक्पुत्रौ धर्मप्रवणाविह
L. 22. स्थितौ कृतिनौ ।
[ज्ये]ष्ठो मन्युकनामा कनिष्ठमप्याहुकं प्राहुः ॥ [२३॥]
भवतरुकुठारधारा प्रविषमतमजन्मभरुमरुल्ल[ह]री ।
प्ररुरोह मोह -
L. 23. [हं]त्री [मन]सि तयो[श् शा]भवी भक्तिः ॥ [२४॥]
ताभ्यां शिवलिङ्गमिदं निरालयं वीक्ष्य वैद्यनाथाख्यम् [।]
पुर्या सहितं विहितं पुरतोस्य च मण्डपो रचित[ः ॥२५॥]
L. 24. इति मन्यु[का]हुकाभ्यामुदरे स्थित्वा पुरा किलैकत्र ।
पुनरुदरसम्प्रवेशप्रतिषेधविधि[स्स] सह विहितः ॥ [२६॥]
यद्यपि पितेव कुरुते करुणां
L. 25. शम्भुस्तथापि पितुरधिकः [।]
जन्मनिमित्तं हि पिता शशिमौलिरजन्मनो हेतुः ॥ [२७॥]
शाहिलपाहिल[क]ाहिलसिद्धास्स्वर्लोकगामिनस्सन्तु ।
L. 26. पूर्वे पुरुषा × क्रमशश्चत्वारो मन्युकाहुकयोः ॥ [२८॥] [20]
किम्बहुना[प्यु]र्यदेषा पुरुषाणामे[व] विंशतिर्यातु ।
[सुक्त]तेनानेन दिवं स्वयं च परमास्तु
L. 27. गतिरनयोः ॥ [२९]] [21]
राजानकेन चास्मै लक्ष्मणचद्रेण वैद्यनाथाय ।
मण्डपिकोत्पत्तिधनाह[त्ताष्प]ट्प्रत्यहं द्रम्माः ॥ [३०॥]
ग्रामात्प्रलम्बना[न्नो]
L. 28. मात्रा राजानकस्य लक्ष्मणया ।
एकहलवाहनीया दत्ता भूमिर्महेशाय ॥ [३१॥] [22]
लक्ष्मणस्य सुकृतं सुकृती य× पालयिष्यति तदन्वयधर्ता ।
तस्य पु-

[15] Metre, Âryâ.
[16] Metre, Gîti.
[17] Metre of verses 20—21, Anushṭubh.
[18] Metre of verses 22—23, Âryâ.
[19] Metre, Âryâ. Read *mohahantrî*.
[20] Metre of verses 25—28, Âryâ.
[21] Metre, Âryâ. Read *pyuchchheshâ*, instead of the senseless *pyurydeshâ*.
[22] Metre, Âryâ.

L. 29. ष्यमुपयातु विवृद्धिं यो हरिष्यति स गच्छतु चाधः ॥ [३२॥][23]
तैलोत्पीडनयन्त्रं कीरग्रामेस्ति मन्युकाहुकयोः ।
ताभ्यां तदपि शिवाय

L. 30. प्रदीपनिष्पत्तये दत्तम् ॥ [३३॥]
एका च पण्यशाला ताभ्यां स्वीया शिवस्य भोगार्थम् ।
भूमिश्च हलचतुष्टयं योग्या दत्ता नवग्रामात् ॥ [३४॥]
इति ये -

L. 31. न येन यद्यत्सुकृतं विहितं शिवं समुद्दिश्य
इह तस्य तस्य तत्तत्तिष्ठतु यावद्धरित्रीयम् ॥ [३५॥]
यस्याविस्मृत[ज]ननीस्तन्यसमास्वादनस्य वदना -

L. 32. ब्जे ।
परिशुद्धकवित्वफला सरस्वती भगवती न्यवसत् ॥ ३६॥
श्रीभृङ्गकस्य स सुत[× काश्म]ीरनृपप्रमातुरनघस्य[।][24]
प्रथमवयास्सर[लार्थी] व्यधत्त राम ⋊ प्रशस्तिमिमा[म् ॥ ३७॥]

L. 33. चवेढक्षेत्रात् हर — — — क्षेत्रात् वक्तण[दे]वाद[य]भूमि[च्छ?] ॥ ॥ गुहकेन य(?)
शसि भदो(?)ना ॥[25]
॥ शककालगताब्दाः ७[२६]

Translation of No. II.

Om hail! Obeisance to Śarva!

Ver. 1.—May the elephant-faced god grant (*your*) wishes and the foe of Târaka remove sickness; may Nandin gladden (*you*), and he (*who is*) the carrier of the trident of Mahâkâla, ... may make . . . . . may Vîrabhadra too, give you happiness, may all the proud servants of Śaṅkara procure you welfare!

2. May that Mahâdeva protect you, in the mirror of whose foot-nails the . . . . . , which are kissed with devotion, repeatedly reflect themselves.

3. May the lord of Bhavânî grant you happiness through those eight bodies (*of his*) *viz.*, that which in this world is active in kindling wood, that which is active in illuminating the quarters of the world, that on which the strong-finned (*fish*) endowed with never-twinkling eyes, subsist, that on which the gods live, whose adherents are the virtuous, that which is praised as maintaining twice-born men, that which is praised as carrying the birds (*and*) that through which the deity, greedy of offerings, attains the highest growth![26]

4. Just this has formerly agreed to become an arrow in order to burn the towns (*of the demon*), and this body of his even that has now attained the beauty of a

[23] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[24] Metre of verses 33—37, Âryâ.

[25] Probably *praśastir utkîrṇâ*.—E. H.

[26] The first three relative sentences in the first and second Pâdas of verse 3 have each a double sense, and they refer to—I. fire, sun and moon; II. water and the sacrifice, III, the earth and air or *âkâśa*, while the wind is described in the fourth relative sentence. The use of the word *paksha* in the sense of 'fin' is easily explained by its meaning 'side' and 'wing.' Mr. Âpte's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* is the only lexicographical work which mentions this rare meaning of *paksha*.

bow"—(*reflecting*) thus repeatedly, we worship in astonishment the two feet of the conqueror of Cupid, resplendent with ashes, which (*feet*) mock, as it were, the prostrate foe of the gods.[27]

5. Though, being devoid of sense, the temple is unable to speak, it yet tells through (*this*) eulogy, (*its*) broad tongue, by whom it has been built.

6. Victorious is Jayachchandra, the supreme king of Jâlandhara, a store of virtues, in whose reign such dwellings of the gods have come into existence.

7. Those alone can be considered true merchants, whose wealth, lent to Śiva, in time becomes ten-million-fold; what is the use of the others (*who are but*) paltry usurers?

8. May these two men endowed with great prudence of conduct, the brothers Manyuka and Âhuka, become honourable in the guilds on account of this pious work which will be described.

9. Grateful are these two brothers who tasted together also the milk of their (*second*) mother, the faith in Śiva, of her whose breasts are tranquillity and self-conquest.[28]

10. There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kîragrâma, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called Kandukâbindukâ, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with glittering broad waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (*who jumping from the lap of her nurse gracefully sports*). That (*village*) is protected by the strong-armed Râjânaka Lakshmaṇa.

11. There lived in the beginning Râjânaka Kanda, the root (*kanda*) of a peerless race that resembles a Bakula tree, (*he who was*) a destroyer of his foes, a conqueror of towns, an untamable Skanda.

12. His son Buddha, a man of pure intellect, begot an excellent son; from him[29] sprang he who was called Vigraha (*separation, and*) who (*accordingly*) caused the separation of the wives of his enemies (*from their beloved ones*).

13. (*Then*) Brahman, the son of Vigraha's body, became the husband of the earth, he who possessed power to punish his enemies.

14. And that happy man obtained a son (*called*) Ḍombaka, who reflected his (*father's*) nature, who supported by the hand those falling from high places, who worshipped Tryambaka, who kissed the *Fortuna* of his enemies, who was deeply engrossed with the care of catching (*those*) fish—his foes—who together with (*other*) princes took many villages, who was the head of a family of worthy relatives.

15. He, too, obtained a son (*called*) Bhuvana, whose youth charmed women, who sanctified (*his race*) by ever-fresh streams (*of water, poured out*) on (*the occasion of*) donations, who served his king and duly protected his country, who made the forest the home of his proud foes, whose lion-roar (*sounded*) dreadful in battle, and who offered great sacrifices to Śambhu.

[27] The wording is rather obscure. By '*this*' seems to be meant the third eye of Śiva, the fire of which, the so called *Śarâgni* or arrow-fire (see *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, I, 16; V, 16; XXIV, 7ff) destroyed the town of the demon, Tripurâri. This eye is usually represented as bow-shaped, *i.e.*, with corners on both sides standing in a vertical position. Regarding the feet 'which mock as it were the prostrate foe:' see the frontispiece to Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*.

[28] The text has a pun on *rasa* 'milk' and 'sentiment' which has not been rendered in the translation.

[29] '*From him*' refers, I believe, to Buddha. If it referred to *tanayam*, it would be necessary to assume that an unnamed son, who perhaps died in his father's lifetime, intervened between Buddha and Vigraha. The latter explanation is, of course, by no means impossible.

16. He begat a son (*named*) Kalhaṇa, (*who was*) a mountain[30] of precious stones—his virtues—(*and*) a boat on the deep ocean of misfortune, (*and*) who passed over the heads of brave warriors.

17. As his good and obedient son was born, he who was called Bilhaṇa, who showed guileless devotion to the lotus-feet of the supreme lord of Jâlandhara, who possessed great power of mind and was terrible on account of his strength.

18. With Lakshaṇikâ, the daughter of Hṛidayachandra, the politic king of Trigarta, he had two sons, named Râma and Lakshmaṇa.

19. While the elder one, most worshipful on account of his virtues, converses with the red-lipped maidens in the town of heaven, his strong-minded younger (*brother*) has been firmly established here.

20-21. The whole territory which Kanda possessed and the other servants of the lotus-feet of the kings of Trigarta, the destroyers of the foes of Âsanda, belongs at present to holy Lakshmaṇa, who protects the inhabitants and whose pure actions are worthy of praise.[31]

22. While that Lakshmaṇachandra, whose dear wife was Mayatallâ—a lady of peerless beauty—protects Kîragrâma,

23. Two pious, happy sons of the merchant, named Siddha, live here; the elder one has the name Manyuka, but the younger one they call Âhuka.

24. In their hearts grew up the faith in Śambhu, which destroys delusion, which is the edge of the axe (*to cut down*) the tree of mundane existence (*and*) a storm-wave (*to carrry men across*) the most terrible ocean of births.

25. By those two, who saw this *liṅga* of Śiva, called Vaidyanâtha, destitute of a dwelling, has it been provided with a temple and has a *Maṇḍapa* been erected in front of that.[32]

26. When Manyuka and Âhuka formerly dwelt in the same womb, they both announced their determination not to enter again into a womb, speaking thus:

27. "Though Śambhu is compassionate like a father, yet he is more than a father; for a father is the immediate cause of (*one's*) birth, (*but*) the god with the moon on his crest is the cause of the cessation of births."

28. May Śâhila, Pâhila, Kâhila and Siddha, the four ancestors of Manyuka and Âhuka, in due order enter heaven.

29. In short, may the remaining twenty men (*of their family*) all reach Elysium in consequence of this pious work, but may the highest state be (*the reward*) of these two.[33]

30. And daily six *drammas* of the money collected in the custom-house have been allotted by Râjânaka Lakshmaṇachandra to this Vaidyanâtha.[34]

[30] *Rohaṇa* is really the name of the mountain in Ceylon, called Adam's Peak. The poet seems to have chosen it as the instance of a big mountain, most suitable for his purposes.

[31] These two verses, as also the next two, form a *Yugma* or *Yugalaka*. The epithet *sâdhu*, 'holy' which Lakshmaṇa receives, is explained by verses 21—26 of No. I.

[32] Liṅgas, standing in the open, are frequently found in the north of India. Thus I remember having seen three very large ones not far from Ushkar in Kaśmîr, which stand in the middle of the forest. If *purî* means here a temple, that is easily explained by the tower-like shape of the adytum of the Indian temples.

[33] The verse refers to the belief that a particularly pious deed ensures the joy of heaven to the performer as well as to ten ancestors and ten descendants. All the latter may reach this goal, but the donors themselves desire *moksha*.

[34] The European dictionaries do not give for *maṇḍapikâ* the meaning 'a custom-house.' But its existence is proved by various passages in the inscriptions, compare, *e. g.*, the term *maṁḍavika* ante p. 7 and by the analogy of its modern representative *mâṁḍavî* which is a common term for 'custom-house' in Marâṭhî, Gujarâtî and other vernaculars.

31. (*A piece* of) land to be cultivated by one plough and belonging to the village named Pralamba has been granted to (*this*) Maheśa by Lakshaṇâ, the mother of the Râjânaka.

32. May the merit of each pious successor of Lakshmaṇa, who protects his sacred gift, be increased; but he who may take it away, shall descend downwards.

33. The oilmill, too, in Kîragrâma (*which*) belongs to Manyuka and Âhuka, has been given by them to Śiva in order to provide for the lamps (*of his temple*).[35]

34. Moreover one shop of theirs has been presented for the enjoyment of Śiva and (*a piece of*) good land, four ploughs, situated in Navagrâma.

35. Whatever pious gift has thus been made by anybody for the sake of Śiva, may that last for his (*benefit*) as long as this earth (*exists*).

36-37. Râma, the son of the good *pramâtṛi*[36] of the king of Kaśmîr, famous Bhṛiṅgaka, in whose lotus-mouth dwelt divine Sarasvatî before he forgot the taste of his mother's milk, composed in his first youth this eulogy of simple meaning.

From the Chabeḍha-field from the Hara . . . —field, from Vaktaṇadeva the best land (?). [The *praśasti* was engraved] by Guhaka. The elapsed years of the Śaka era (*are*) 7[26].

XVII.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTION IN THE TEMPLE OF BAIJNATH AT KÎRAGRÂMA,

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is found in the same temple of Śiva-Vaidyanâtha at Kîragrâma in Kângrâ.[1] It consists of two lines of Jaina Nâgarî letters, which run, each divided into four larger and two small sections, along three facets of the pedestal of a statue of Mahâvîra. Its preservation is almost perfect. It records the dedication of this statue by two merchants Dolhaṇa and Âlhaṇa, and its consecration by a Sûri, called Devabhadra. The statue, we are told, was placed in a temple of Mahâvîra, erected by the same two persons at Kîragrâma. As at present no old Jaina place of worship exists at Kîragrâma, it would appear that the base was transferred to the temple of Śiva after the destruction of its original location, and that it probably owes its preservation to the ignorance of the priests of the Vaidyanâtha temple.

The donors probably were Gujarâtîs, not Panjâbîs, and the consecrating Sûri likewise seems to have belonged to the same country. For Dolhaṇa and Âlhaṇa were members of the Brahmakshatra gotra or caste, which is common in Gujarât, but according to the Census Report of 1881, not found in the Panjâb. Sûri Devabhadra is connected with Gujarât through his teacher Abhayadeva, who is called Rudrapallîya, the *Rudrapallîan*, and is said to belong to the line of Sûri Jinavallabha. The latter is without

[35] The meaning is that the Telis who worked the oilmill had either in lieu of rent to furnish gratis the oil for the lamps of the temple or that the whole net income of the oilmill was to go to the temple for the purpose stated.

[36] I am unable to find the word in the dictionaries and to say what the office was. According to its etymological import it ought to denote some kind of spiritual councillor.

[1] See *ante*, p. 97. The present edition of the inscription has been prepared according to a very good paper impression, furnished by the Panjâb Archæological Survey through the Editor.

a doubt the Jinavallabha, whom the *Paṭṭâvali* of the Kharatara gachchha names as the 43rd *Yugapradhâna*.[2] He died in Vikrama Saṁvat 1167, after founding a new school, which in our inscription is called his *saṁtâna* or line. In the time of his immediate successor Jinadatta, the Rudrapallîya branch of the Kharatara gachchha was founded by Jinaśekharâchârya in Vikrama Saṁvat 1204. It is, therefore, evident that the Devabhadra of our inscription was a teacher of the Śvetâmbaras and an adherent of one of the subdivisions of the Kharatara gachchha, which latter according to all accounts, arose at Aṇhilvâḍ Pattan in Gujarât. The date *Saṁvat*, i.e. Vikrama Saṁvat 1296, Phâlguṇa, dark half 5, a Sunday, corresponds, according to Dr. Schram's calculations, to January 15, 1240 A.D. General Sir A. Cunningham, who discovered the document, has given a transcript of it in his *Archæological Reports*, (volume V, page 183) which, however, is imperfect, as the middle portions of both lines from ब्रह्मक्षत्रगोत्रो to पुत्राभ्यां व्य and from प्रतिष्ठितं to संतानीय have been left out. This omission and some misreadings or misprints make a translation of his transcript impossible.[3]

Transcript.

ओं० संवत् १२९६ वर्षे फागुण वदि ५ रवौ कीरग्रामे ब्रह्मक्षत्रगोत्रोत्पन्नव्यव० मानूपुत्राभ्यां व्य० दोल्हणआल्हणाभ्यां स्वकारितश्रीमन्महावीरदेवचैत्ये ॥[4]

श्रीमहावीरजिनमूलबिंबं आत्मश्रेयो[र्थं] कारितं । प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरिसंतानीयरुद्रपल्लीयश्रीमदभयदेवसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिभिः ॥[5]

Translation.

Oṁ! In the year 1296, the (*civil*) year,[6] (*on the*) fifth (*day of the*) dark half (*of the month of*) Phâlguṇa,[7] on a Sunday,—the *mûlabimba*[8] of the glorious Jina Mahâvîra has been erected for their own spiritual welfare by the two merchants, Dolhaṇa and Âlhaṇa, the two sons of the merchant Mânû, sprung from the Brahmakshatra race, in the temple of the glorious deity Mahâvîra, erected by them at Kîragrâma. And it has been consecrated[9] by the illustrious Sûri Devabhadra, the pupil of the illustrious Sûri Abhayadeva, the Rudrapallîan, who belongs to the line of the illustrious Sûr-Jinavallabha.

[2] See Klatt, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, pp. 248 and 254.

[3] General Cunningham recognised that it could have no connexion with the history of the temple of Śiva-Vaidyanâtha.

[4] L. 1.—Read ओं; the र and ग of कीरग्रामे are connected and form a misshaped group; read ब्रह्म; above क्ष a *mâtra* cut by mistake, has been obliterated; possibly the correct reading is मातृपुत्राभ्यां, तृ and नृ being absolutely undistinguishable in the alphabet of the inscription.

[5] L. 2.—The श of श्रेयोर्थं has been destroyed; the ता of संतानीय has been damaged.

[6] I translate वर्षे by 'in the (civil) year,' because sometimes लौकिकवर्षे appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era. The years of the Vikrama era are in Western and North-Western India the *laukika*, "common or civil" years in contradistinction to those of the Śaka era, which are *śâstrîya*, *i. e.*, used in the works on astronomy.

[7] The form of the text फागुण is half Prakrit and half Sanskrit.

[8] I leave the expression मूलबिंब literally 'root-image' untranslated, because I am not certain about its technical meaning. I suspect that it means 'chief image' and is intended to distinguish this statue, which stood in the adytum, from the numerous smaller ones in the bhamtî or the cloisters.

[9] प्रतिष्ठितं च is bad Sanskrit, but common in Jaina books. The correct expression would be प्रतिष्ठा कृता च or प्रतिष्ठापितं च.

XVIII.—ON THE PEDESTAL OF AN IMAGE OF PARŚVANATHA, IN THE KANGRA BAZAR.

By Dr. G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The following inscription in eight lines is incised on the base of image of Parśvanâtha in the porch of a small Hindu temple dedicated to Indravarman in the Kângra Bazar. It has been so smeared over with red paint and oil that some of the letters are very indistinct, and in the last line broken away.

(L 1.) श्रीं संवत् ३० गच्छे राजकुले सूरिरभू[1] च -

(2.) भयचंद्रमाः [।] तच्छिष्यो मलचंद्राख्य[स्त]-

(3.) त्पदाभोजषट्पदः[॥] सिद्धराजस्ततः ढङ्ग[2]

(4.) ढङ्गादजनि [च]ष्टकः । रल्हेति गृ[हण]ी [त

(5.) स्य] पा — धर्म — पायिनी । [।] अजनिष्टां सुतौ ।

(6.) [तस्य]ां [जैन]धर्मधरायणौ[3] । ज्येष्ठः भुलण्डको

(7.) [भ्र]ा[ता] कनिष्ठः कुमराभिधः । [।] प्रतिमेयं [च]

(8.) — — जिना — —ी[4]— — नुज्ञया । कारिता — — — — — — — — — — — —[॥]

Translation.

Om (*In*) the year 30.[5]

In the Râjakula *gachchha*[6] was a Sûri (*called*) Abhayachandra. His pupil was named Amalachandra. A bee at the lotus of his feet (*was*) Siddharâja; from him (*sprang*) Ḍhaṅga: from Ḍhaṅga was born Chashṭaka.

His wife was Ralhâ . . . . . From her were born two sons wholly devoted to the law, taught by the Jina. The eldest brother was called Kuṇḍalaka; the youngest was named Kumara. This effigy . . . . . has been made with the permission . . . . . .

[1] L 1. Read ०रिरभूद्०'—

[2] L 3. Read ०त्पदाभोज० ;— ततो ढङ्गो

[3] L 6. Possibly जिन; read धर्मपरायणौ,—

[4] L 7. Possibly नाम क०,—

[5] As the characters of this inscription are ancient Sâradâ, closely resembling those of the Baijnâth Praśastis, the year 30 of the Saptarshi or Laukika era, which is mentioned in our document, probably falls in the ninth century and corresponds to 854 A. D.

[6] The term *gachchha* indicates that Abhayachandra belonged to the Śvetâmbaras. I am, however, unable to find the Râjakula in the *Paṭṭâvalis* accessible to me.

XIX.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHAJURAHO.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

I.

FRAGMENT OF A STONE INSCRIPTION [OF HARSHADEVA?].

The stone bearing this inscription appears to have been found[1] near the temple of Vâmana, at Khajurâho, an ancient and decayed town in the Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand, North-Western Provinces; and it is now kept in the modern mausoleum near the temples. This is only a fragment of an apparently very large inscription. It contains 13 imperfect lines, the total height of which is 1′ 4″, while the length of the lines, beginning with 7″ in the first line, gradually increases to 1′ 3″ in line 8, and decreases again to 5″ in line 13. The writing is fairly well preserved. The size of the letters is $\frac{7}{8}$″. The characters are Nâgarî; they closely resemble those of the inscription of Yaśovarman of the year 1011 (No. II below), and make it probable that the inscription is of about the same time or somewhat earlier. The language is Sanskṛit, and what remains of the inscription is in verse.

Like the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅgadeva (Nos. II and IV below), this inscription appears to have opened with an account of the creation of the universe, and of the rise of a princely family, which I take to be the family of Chandrâtreya. In line 5 it speaks of a prince, from whom were born (line 6) the famous Jejjâka and Vijjâka. In line 7, it further mentions the illustrious Harshadeva who by his own arm conquered many proud enemies. And from line 10 we learn, that by somebody or other, who may have been Harshadeva himself or his successor, the illustrious prince Kshitipâladeva was placed again on the throne.

Harshadeva is well known to us, from the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅgadeva, as the son of Râhila and father of Yaśovarman. And Jejjâka and Vijjâka are clearly the two brothers Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti who are mentioned as the sons of Vâkpati in the inscription of Yaśovarman, and of whom Vijayaśakti was the father of Râhila and grandfather of Harshadeva. Moreover both, without doubt, are the two brothers Jejâ and Vîja mentioned in line 6 of the Mahoba inscription published by Dr. Hultzsch in *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XL, p. 47, from the name of one of whom is derived the name of the country Jejâbhukti, Jejâbhuktika, or Jejâkabhukti.

The prince Kshitipâladeva, Sir A. Cunningham is inclined to regard as a son of Harshadeva and elder brother of Yaśovarman, but from the way he is spoken of in the present inscription, it would appear that he was no Chandella prince at all. And I have no doubt that he really is the same Kshitipâladeva who in line 28 of the Sîyaḍôṇî inscription[2] is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of the prince Devapâla, who was ruling (at Kanauj) in the (Vikrama) year 1005. Yaśovarman was a contemporary of Devapâla; his father Harshadeva in all probability was contemporary with Kshitipâladeva; and I therefore assume that the relative *yena* in line 10

[1] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 65. A photolithograph of this inscription was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *ib.*, vol. XXI, plate xvi, B; and an impression of it has been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

[2] An edition of this inscription, which has been lately re-discovered by Dr. Burgess, will be given at page 162.

of our inscription refers to Harshadeva himself, and that this prince first defeated Kshitipâladeva, but subsequently reinstalled him in the government of his dominions.[3]

TEXT.[4]

1. [न्मज्ज्याच्चि]षे[5] नमः । जगत्स[र्ग]
2. यं[6] पात्रं किमस्मात्परं एवं यो व
3. न[7] प्रमेयमखिलं न [वा] कल्पादौ विश्व[म]
4. धाः[8] प्रथितप्रभावान् । चतुर्व्विधं भूतविकारजातं
5. [9][श]सकलभुवनख्यातकीर्त्तिप्रभावः पृथ्वीना[थ]
6. [ख]म् ॥ [10] तस्माज्जेज्जाकविज्जाकावभूतां कीर्त्तिभूषणौ । [सु]
7. [भु][11]जविजितानेकदृप्तारिहृदः । तस्मात्श्रीहर्षदेवः[12] सकल
8. [13]कांतिसंवलितं । भीतेंद्रनिहितधनुरिव शुशुभे पादांबु(बु)जद्वित[य]
9. [प]रः[14] । त्यक्त्वा स्थानमिवायातः पुनर्म्मथनशंकितः ॥ आस्तां[15] किं व(ब)हु
10. : पुनर्येन श्रीक्षितिपालदेवनृपतिः सिंहासने स्था[16]
11. [17]त्सादितारातिशक्तिकीर्त्तिविभूषणः ॥ प्रस
12. [दूर]स्थैरन्तिकस्थैश्च[18] ॥ सातपत्रनृ[प][19]
13. [जत्व]ज — — [द्वितं]

II.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASOVARMAN, OF THE YEAR 1011.

The stone which bears this inscription appears to have been discovered some time after A. D. 1843, amongst the ruins at the base of a temple, known as the temple of Lakshmaṇjî, at Khajurâho; and it is now built into the wall inside the entrance porch of the temple at which it is said to have been found.[1] The inscription has been drawn attention to several times in the volumes of the Archæological Survey of India, and an unfortunately very small photolithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xvii; but it has not been edited before.[2]

The inscription consists of 28 lines. The writing covers a space of about 5′ 8″ broad by 2′ 5″ high. Down to line 16, and from line 22 to line 27, it is (with the

[3] Wars between the Chandellas and the rulers of Kanyâkubja are mentioned, *e.g.*, in verse 3 of the inscription published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XII, p. 359; in line 13 of the Mahoba inscription referred to above; and probably in line 2 of the unpublished fragmentary inscription No. 29 of the Lucknow Museum.

[4] From the impression taken by Dr. Burgess.

[5] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[8] Metre, Upajâti.

[9] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[10] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[11] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[12] Read तस्माच्छ्री॰.

[13] Metre, Âryâ.

[14] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] *i. e.* स्थापितः.

[17] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Metre, Âryâ.

[19] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[1] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 425 and 426; vol. XXI, pp. 65 and 84. [Burt in 1838 (*J. A. S. Ben.* vol. VIII, p. 165) called it Chaturbhuja, but it is now called Lakshmaṇjî, and the temple known as Chaturbhuja is at Jatkara.— Ed.]

[2] I have for some time been in possession of three rubbings of this inscription, taken by or for Sir A. Cunningham and kindly made over to me by Mr. Fleet; but only the two impressions supplied to me by Dr. Burgess have enabled me to edit the inscription critically.

exception of a few *aksharas* which can be readily supplied) well preserved; but the middle portions of the lines 17-21, and the second half of line 28, have suffered considerably by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, so that altogether about 30 *aksharas* have either gone altogether or are, at any rate, illegible in the impressions. The size of the letters is from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{7}{8}''$. The characters, which are beautifully and carefully executed, are of the so-called *Kuṭila* type,[3] differing little from the ordinary Devanâgarî.[3] They include the somewhat rare sign for *jha*, *e.g.*, in *jhâtkâra* towards the end of line 8; besides, attention may be drawn to the old form of the sign for *pha*, used exceptionally in the word *phala*, at the beginning of line 6, and to the old form of the medial *e* in the last word *savitre* of the inscription.

The language is Sanskṛit, and, excepting the introductory blessing and the concluding portion of line 28, the inscription is in verse. The verses, of which the total number is 49, were composed (verse 47) by the poet Mâdhava, the son of the grammarian Dedda. The inscription was written by the *karaṇika*, or writer of legal documents, Jaddha, the son of Jayaguṇa(?) of the Gauḍa country (v. 48). The name of the engraver was given in line 28, but it is now illegible. The language of the inscription is fluent and correct, and in respect of orthography, too, there are few things that need be drawn attention to. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used for the palatal sibilant in *kasmîra*, line 13, and the palatal for the dental in *kailâśâd*, line 24, and *śavdânuśâśana*, line 27. Instead of *anusvâra*, we have the dental nasal in *vanśaḥ*, line 5, and in *hansâḥ*, line 15; instead of *ñcha*, *ncha* in *vanchana*, line 1; instead of *mr*, *mvr* in *namvrî*, line 14, and *namvra*, line 26; and instead of the conjunct *jjv*, *jv* in *ujvala*, lines 3, 5, and 11, and in *prodyajvâlâ*, line 16. The sign for *visarga* has been omitted in *vakshasthale*, line 2, *kshitipâ stuvanti*, line 9, *sâdhubhi stûyate*, line 19, and *rave spashṭa-*, line 20, where the omission is really permitted; but also, wrongly, in *îśa smita*, line 4, and *prâpti kshayâya*, line 6. The rules of euphony have not been observed in *ugrân=jagati*, line 1, and in *yam=vichintya*, line 10, *bhûmibhṛitâm=varishṭhaḥ*, line 10, and *savarṇṇâm=vidhinâ*, line 12. Lastly, *nishanna* is put wrongly for *nishaṇṇa* in line 8, and *tṛidiva* for *tridiva* in line 24.

The inscription is dated, in line 28, both in words and in decimal figures, 'in the year 1011,' which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 953-54. And it records (in verses 42 and 43) the erection of a temple of Vishṇu, under the name of Vaikuṇṭha, by the prince Yaśovarman, also called Lakshavarman (verses 37 and 39) of the Chandrâtreya (or Chandella) family. By way of introduction, the inscription furnishes an account of the ancestors of Yaśovarman and of his own achievements. In the family of the sage Chandrâtreya, who himself was a son of the sage Atri, there was, we are told, the prince Nannuka (v. 10), whose son was Vâkpati (v. 12). Vâkpati had two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti (v. 14), of whom the latter begat Râhila (v. 16), whose son again was Harsha (v. 18). This prince married a lady named Kañchhukâ, of the Châhamâna tribe (v. 21), who bore to him Yaśovarman. This prince, in verse 23, is represented in a general way as having carried on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kośalas, Kaśmîras, Mithilas, Mâlavas, Cheḍis, Kurus, and Gûrjaras, and he is, in particular, stated to have defeated the king of Chedi (v. 28), and conquered the Kâlañjara mountain.

[3] [See Dr. Bühler's remarks on the Dewal Praśasti, *ante* p. 73.—Ed.]

The inscription appears to have been set up after the death of Yaśovarman; for, in verse 44, we are introduced to his son Dhaṅga, who, in verse 45, is represented as ruling the earth as far as Kâlañjara, and as far as Bhâsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mâlava; up to the banks of the river Kâlindî (or Yamunâ), and to the frontiers of the Chedi country; and even as far as the mountain Gopa, or Gopâdri. These localities indicate, then, the extent of the Chandella kingdom during the reign of the prince Dhaṅga; and that kingdom, accordingly, extended from the river Yamunâ in the north to the frontiers of the Chedi kingdom in the south, and from Kâlañjara in the east or north-east to Gopâdri, the modern Gwâlior, in the north-west. Bhâsvat, judging from the way in which it is introduced, should be looked for, opposite to Kâlañjara, in the west or south-west, and I would therefore identify it with Bhâillasvâmin or Bhailasvâmin, the modern Bhilsa on the river Vetravatî or Betwa, from near which was issued the grant of the Chandella Madanavarmadeva of the year 1190.[4]

Attention may here be drawn also to the interesting verse 43 of the inscription. According to it, Yaśovarman had received the image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he set up in the temple founded by him, from Devapâla, the son of Herambapâla. Herambapâla in turn had obtained it from Sâhi, the king of Kîra, who had received it from the lord of Bhoṭa, who again had got it from the Kailâsa. Devapâla is called *hayapati*, which may mean either 'the lord of horses', employed (like *aśva-pati*) as a title, or 'the lord of the Hayas'; however this may be, there can, I believe, be no doubt that the Devapâla, here spoken of, is the same Devapâla who is mentioned as a paramount sovereign (of Kanauj) and as the successor of Kshitipâladeva, in the Sîyaḍoṇî inscription, with the date (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1005. The Kîras have, as I have stated elsewhere,[5] by some been identified with the Kaśmîras, while in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, XIV, 29, they are separately enumerated as a people inhabiting the north-east, together with the Kaśmîras. Bhoṭa, according to Lassen,[6] is the modern Tibet.

Finally, in the last line, the inscription appears to mention a prince Vinâyakapâladeva, regarding whose relation to the Chandella princes I am unable at present to offer any conjecture.

TEXT.[7]

L. 1. श्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

दधानानेकां यः किरिपुरुषसिं[होभय]जुषं त[दा]कारोच्छेद्यां तनुमसुरमुख्यानजवरात् ।
जघान त्रीनुग्रान्ज(ञ्ज)गति कपिलादीनवतु वः स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचकितनिःशेषभुवनः ॥[8] —[1].
पायासुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)लिवन्च(ञ्च)नव्यतिकरे देवस्य विक्रान्तयः
सद्यो विस्मितदेवदानवनुतास्त्रिस्रस्त्रि[लो]कीं

2. हरेः ।

यासु व्र(ब्र)ह्मवितीर्णमर्घसलिलं पादारविन्दच्युतं
धत्तेद्यापि जगत्र(त्त्र)येकजनकः पुण्यं स मूर्द्ध्ना हरः ॥[9] —[2].

[4] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 202.
[5] See *ib.* vol. XVII, p. 9.
[6] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd Ed., vol. I, p. 523.
[7] From impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.
[8] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the two next verses.

देवः पातु स वः पयःकणभृति व्योम्नीव ताराचिते
दैत्यासिव्रणलांच्छने[10] दिविसदः संत्यज्य सर्व्वानपि ।
तस्मिन्नञ्जनशैलभित्तिविपुले वक्ष[:×]स्थले यस्य ताः
पेतुर्मन्दरसङ्गसंभ्रमवलल्लक्ष्मीकटाक्षच्छटाः ॥ —[3].
गंभीरो -

3. स्वु(स्वु)धयः शशांकरुचिमान्भास्व[त्र]तापोज्व(ज्ज्व)लो
धीरो धात्रि महान्महीधरवराः कल्पद्रुमास्त्यागवान् ।
आ कल्पादविकल्पनिर्म्मलगुणग्रामाभिरामः[11] प्रभुः
सत्यं ब्रु(ब्रू)त यदि क्वचित्पुनरभूत्तुल्यो यशोवर्म्मणः ॥ —[4].
प्रधानादव्यक्तादभवदविकारादिह महानहंकारस्तस्मादजनि जनितोपग्रहगणः ।
ततस्तन्मात्राणि प्रसव-

4. मलभन्त[12] क्र[म×]वशादथैतेभ्यो भूतान्यनु भुवनमेभ्यः प्रवृत्ते ॥ [13]—[5].
इहाद्यो विद्यानां कविरखिलकल्पव्युपरतौ[14] परः साक्षी देवस्त्रिभुवनविनिर्माणनिपुणः ।
स विश्वेषामीश[:×] स्मितकमलकिञ्जल्कवसतिर्महिम्ना स्वेनैव प्रथममथ वेधाः प्रभुरभूत् ॥ —[6].
तस्माद्विश्वसृजः पुराणपुरुषादाम्नायधाम्नः कवेर्येभूवन्मु-

5. नयः पवित्रचरिताः पूर्व्वे मरीच्यादयः ।
तत्रात्रिः सुषुवे निरन्तरतपस्तीव्रप्रभावं सुतं चंद्रात्रेयमकृत्रिमोज्व(ज्ज्व)लतरज्ञानप्रदीपं मुनिं ॥ [15]—[7].
अस्ति स्वस्तिविधायिनः स जगतां निःशेषविद्याविदस्तस्यात्मोपनताखिल[श्रु]तिनिधेर्व्वन्शः[16] प्रशंसास्पदं ।
यत्राभून्न पराक्रमेण लघुता नो चाटुकारोद्धतिर्नाल्पाप्यंतरसा -

6. रता न च फलप्राप्ति[:×] क्षयायात्मनः ॥ —[8]
त्रस्तत्राणप्रगुणमनसां सर्व्वसंपत्प्रदानामुद्युक्तानां कृतकृतयुगाचारपुण्यस्थितीनां ।
तत्रत्यानाममलयशसां भूभुजां का प्रशंसा येषां शक्तिः सकलधरणीध्वंसने पालने वा ॥[17]—[9].
तत्र क्षत्रसुवर्ण्णसारनिकषग्रावा यशश्चन्दनक्रीडालंकृतदिक्षु -

7. रन्ध्रिवदनः श्रीनन्नुकोभून्नृपः ।
यस्यापूर्व्वपराक्रमक्रमनमन्निःशेषविद्वेषिणः संभ्रान्ताः शिरसावहन्नृपतयः शेषामिवाज्ञां भयात् ॥[18]—[10].
यस्यानंदितवंदिवृंदरचितस्तोत्रक्रियाप्रक्रमात्संक्रान्तस्व(स्व)दुर्वैरिवर्गजयिनः कंदर्पकल्पाकृतेः ।
नाम क्षामतनूभृतां मृगदृशां सद्यो विधत्ते पदं स्वान्तेषु

8. द्विषतां च राशिषु व(ब)लाद्वैक्लव्यमव्याहतं ॥ —[11].
तस्मादभूदाजिपराजितारेः श्रीवाक्पतिर्वाक्पतितुल्यवाचः ।
यस्यामला भ्राम्यति भानुभाभिः सहैव लोकत्रितयेपि[19] कीर्त्तिः ॥ [20]—[12].
यस्यामलोत्पलनिषन्न(ण्ण)किरातयोषिदुद्गीततद्गुणकलध्वनिरम्यसानुः ।
क्रीडागिरिः शिखरनिर्झरवारिपातभ्राजा -

[10] Read •लाञ्छने.
[11] The *akshara* मा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
[12] Originally •लभंन्त.
[13] Metre, Śikhariṇî; and of the next verse.
The two *aksharas* कल्प were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.
[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.
[16] Reda •र्व्वंश:.
[17] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.
[19] Originally •वितयीपि.
[20] Metre, Upajâti.

9. रताण्डवितकेकिगणः स विन्ध्यः ॥ [21]—[13].

तस्माद्विस्मयधाम्नः क्षीराब्धेश्चन्द्रकौस्तुभौ[22] यद्वत् । द्वावात्मजावभूतां जयशक्तिर्विजयशक्तिश्च ॥ [23]—[14].

तयोर्द्वयोरप्यमितप्रतापदावाग्निदग्धाहितकाननानि ।

कर्माणि रोमांचजुषः समेताः समूर्ज्जकम्पं क्षितिपा[:×] स्तुवन्ति ॥ [24]—[15].

तत्रानुजन्मा तनयं राहिलाख्यमजीजनत् । निद्राद -

10. रिद्रतां यान्ति यम्विचिन्त्य[25] निशि द्विषः ॥ [26]—[16].

भीमभ्राम्यदसि[स्रु]चि स्रवदसृक्संपादिताज्यक्रिये

ज्यानिर्घोषवषट्पदे क्रमचरत्संरब्ध(ब्ध)[यो]धर्त्विजि ।

अश्रान्तः समराध्वरेप्रतिहतक्रोधानिलोद्दीपि[ते]

[वै]रोदर्चिषि यः पशूनिव कृती मन्त्रैर्जुहाव द्विषः ॥ [27]—[17].

श्रीहर्षभूपमथ भूमिभृताम्वरिष्ठः[28] सोसूत कल्पतरुकल्पमन -

11. ल्पसत्व(त्त्व): [।×]

अद्यापि यस्य सुविकासियशःप्रसूनगन्धाधिवाससुरभीणि दिगन्तराणि ॥ [29]—[18].

यत्र श्रीश्च सरस्वती च सहिते नोतिक्रमो विक्रम -

स्तेजः सत्व(त्त्व)गुणोज्व(ज्ज्व)लं परिणता क्षान्तिश्च नैसर्गिकी ।

सन्तोषो विजिगीषुता च विनयो मानश्च पुण्यात्मन -

स्तस्यानन्तगुणस्य विस्मयनिधेः किन्नाम वस्तु स्तुमः ॥ [30]—[19].

भीरुर्द्धर्मापराधे मधुरिपु -

12. चरणाराधने यः सतृष्णः

पापालापेनभिज्ञो निजगुणगणनाप्रक्रमेष्वप्रगल्भः ।

शून्यः पे(पै)शुन्यवादेनृतवचनसमुच्चारणे जातिमूकः

सर्व्वत्रैवं स्वभावप्रथितगुणतया नाम [कः स्तू][31]यतेसौ ॥ [32]—[20].

सोनुरूपां सुरूपाङ्गः कञ्चुकाख्यामकुण्ठधीः [।×] सवर्णाम्विधिनोवाह[33] चाहमानकुलोद्भवां ॥ [34]—[21].

यस्याः पतिव्रततुलामधिरोढुमी -

13. शा नारुन्धती गुरुतरामभिमानिनीति ।

पत्युः समीहितविधानपरापि साध्वी कार्श्यन्तया परमगादतिलज्जितेव ॥ [35]—[22].

गौडक्रीडालतासिस्खलितखसव(ब)लः कोशलः कोशलानां

नश्यत्कस्मी(श्मी)रवीरः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानां ।

सोद[त्सा]वद्यचेदिः कुरुतरुषु मरुत्संज्वरो गूर्जराणां

तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुल -

14. तिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥ [36]—[23].

स दाता राधेयः स च शुचिवचाः पांडुतनयः स शूरः पार्थोपि प्रथितमहिमानः किमपि ते ।

[21] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[22] Originally क्षीरोब्धे०; read क्षीराब्धे०.
[23] Metre, Âryâ.
[24] Metre, Upajâti.
[25] Read यं विचिन्त्य.
[26] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[27] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[28] Read ०तां वरिष्ठः.
[29] Metre, Vasantatilakâ
[30] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[31] The first of these two *aksharas* is quite illegible in the impressions.
[32] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[33] Read सवर्णां वि०.
[34] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[35] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[36] Metre, Sragdharâ.

व्यतीताः किं ब्रू(ब्रू)मो यदि पुन[रि]ह स्युः स्वचरिते [द्वि]या नम्रो(म्रो)कुर्युर्वदनमवलो[क्वे]नमधुना ॥ [37] —[24].

त्रस्तत्रातरि तत्र भूभृति नृणां क्लेशाय शस्त्रग्रहः
कामं दातरि सिद्धकेलिसुमनस्तल्पाय कल्पद्रुमाः [।×]
वित्तेशः पर -

15. म(मा)र्थद्वद्विविधुरस्वान्तो विलासी स चें -
दास्ये तस्य सतीन्दुरुत्पलवनप्रीत्यै दृशामुत्सवे ॥ [38]—[25].
यस्योद्योगे व(ब)लानां प्र[स]रति रजसि व्याप्त[भे]दो[न्तराले]
स्वःसिन्धुर्व्व(ब्व)द्वरोधाः पिहितरुचिरभूङ्गानुरादर्शरम्यः ।
स[म्य]ग्देवेन्द्रदन्ती मुदमधित वियत्साभ्रमालोच्य हन्साः [39]
सोत्कण्ठास्तस्थुरासीन्नयनदशशती कूणिताद्वत्तशत्रोः ॥ [40]—[26].
अन्योन्याव(ब) -

16. द्वकोपद्विपकलहमिलद्दन्तदण्डाभिघात -
प्रोद्यज्ज्वा(ज्ज्वा)लाकलापप्रसृतहुतभुजि ज्याघनध्वानभीमे ।
पीतासृक्ची(क्ची)वरक्षःप्रमदक[लकल][41]द्वादरौ[द्रप्रहासे]
धीरं भी[तेव लक्ष्मीः समरशि]रसि यं सं[भ्रमा]दालि[लिङ्ग] ॥ —[27].
उत्तुङ्गाञ्जनशैलसन्निभचलन्मत्तद्विपेन्द्रस्थित -
क्रुध्यद्दुर्द्धरधन्विमार्गणगणप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)रक्षाक्रियं ।
विख्यातक्षितिपालमौ -

17. लिरचनाविन्यस्तपादाम्बु(म्बु)जं
संख्येसंख्यव(ब)लं व्यजेष्ट गतभीर्यश्चेदिराजं हठात् ॥ [42]—[28].
लक्ष्मच्छायाकलुषवपुषः कान्तिमद्भू[र]मि[न्दो]र[न्या?]यत्त[स्फुरि]तविधुरा[त्सु]न्दरं चारवि[न्दात्] ।
य[स्या?] — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — [चार्द्रवृत्तेः?]संभ्रान्ताभिः कथमपि मुखं वीक्ष्य वैरि-प्रियाभिः ॥ [43]—[29].
गङ्गानिर्झरघर्घरध्वनिभयभ्राम्यत्तुरङ्गव्रजाः
सद्यःसुप्तविबु(बु)द्धकेस -

18. रिरवत्रस्यत्करीन्द्राकुलाः ।
यत्सैन्यैः प्रतिकल्पपादपसुमालूनप्रसूनोच्चयाः
प्रालेयाचलमेखलाः कथमपि [क्रा]न्ताः श[नैर्दिग्जये] ॥ [44]—[30].
उच्च[प्रा]कारभि[त्तिस्थि]त[स]मद[शिखिक्रूर?] — — [निना?]द -
— — [श्य]— ◡ — — श्वथ[रथ]तुरगप्राप्तवेगान्तरायः ।
यस्मिन्मध्यन्दिने स्यात्तरणिरनुदिनं नीलकण्ठाधिवासं
जग्राह क्रीडया यस्तिलकमिव भुवः

[37] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[39] Read हंसाः.
[41] Metre, Sragdharâ; and of the next verse.
[41] The first *akshara* in [लकल] in the impressions looks like द्व.
[42] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[43] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[44] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍitâ.

19. किञ्च कालंजराद्रिं ॥ [45]—[31].

आ शस्त्रग्रहणादखण्डितमहावीरव्रतप्रक्रियै -

रा वा(बा)ल्यादविलुप्तसत्य[समयै]रा पा[णि]पीडाविधेः ।

अश्रान्तार्थिवि[तीर्ण]पूर्णविभवैस्त[थेप्सिता]कांक्षि[भि] -

[र्दूरोत्कर्षकथाकृतोच्च?]पुलकैर्यः साधुभि[:×]स्तूयते ॥ [46]—[32].

[नि]न्दामुपै[मि] पुरुषान्तरसङ्गमेन [शान्ति]न्न जातु सततभ्रमणक्रमेण ।

यस्यातिपौरुषनिरस्तमनुष्यभावे लोके स[सु] [47]-

20. [द्रगत]कीर्त्तिरनिन्दितैव ॥ [48]—[33].

एकैवोवाह लोकेस्मिन्पुत्रजन्मोन्नतं शिरः । कञ्चुका येन धीरेण देवकीव मधुद्विषा ॥ [49]—[34].

शौ[र्यौ]दार्यनयादिनिर्म्म[लगु]णग्रामाभिरा[मं यशो?]

[यस्या?]शेष[विशुद्ध]ना[थति]लक[ङ्गा]य[न्ति सि]द्ध[स्त्रि]यः ।

[तस्य स्तोत्रम]मित्रमर्द्दन[र]वे[:×]स्पष्टप्रकाशीकृत -

त्रैलोक्यस्य सहस्रसंख्यमहसो दीपप्रदानोपमं ॥ [50]—[35].

क्रोधोद्वृत्तान्तकभ्रूकुटिल -

21. पटुरल(ण)च्चण्डकोदण्डयष्टि -

ज्याघातस्फारघोरध्वनिचकितमनःसंभ्रमभ्रान्तदृक्षु ।

स्पष्टं नष्टेषु दूरं क्वचिदपि रिपुषु क्षत्रते[जो]म्बु(म्बु)राशे -

—— र्य[स्यौज] न व्य]रंसीद्भुवन?] [वि]जयि[नश्चण्डदो]र्द्दण्डक[ण्ड?]: ॥ [51]—[36].

[यो] लक्षव[र्म]नृप[तिः] शरदिन्दुकान्तमाख्यातुमिच्छति यशःप्रस[रं][52] वचोभिः ।

दीपप्रभापरिचयेन विमुग्धबु[बु]द्धिर्मध्यन्दिने दिवसनाथमुदीक्षतेसौ ॥ [53]—[37].

22. यन्नाक्रामदवक्रमानसव[ब]लिव्याजप्रयोगापत -

त्पृथ्वीलंघनलब्ध[ब्ध]लाघवमघच्छेदी पदं वामनः ।

लोकालोकशिरःशतप्रतिहतज्योतिर्विवस्वान्न य -

त्तस्य क्रामति तन्निशाकर[महा?]श्रीस्त्र[द्वि शुभ्रं] यशः ॥ [54]—[38].

[धो]रो दिग्विजयेषु केलिसरसी[न्ती]व्रप्रता[पं द]ध -

न्निश्शेषद्विषदव्यथोभयतटीविन्यस्तसेनाभरः ।

मज्जन्मत्तकरीन्द्रपंकिलजलां श्रीलक्षवर्मा -

23. भिध -

श्चक्रे शक्रसमः कलिन्दतनयां जह्नोः सुतां च क्रमात् ॥ —[39].

आस्थानेषु महीभुजां मुनिजनस्थाने सतां सङ्गमे

ग्रामे पामरमण्डलीषु वणिजां वीथीपथे चत्वरे ।

[अ]ध्वन्यध्व[गमं]कथासु [निलये]र[ण्यौ]कसां विस्मया -

[45] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[46] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[47] This and the following three *aksharas* might be read मं भमति; but I believe that म has been altered to सु and ति to त, and the two *akshâras* भम are so similar to द्रग, that they may be read either way.

[48] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[49] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[50] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[51] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[52] This *akshara* looks like भं, altered to र.

[53] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[54] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next two verses.

त्रित्यं [तद्गु]णकीर्त्तनैकमुखरा: सर्व्वत्र सर्वे जना: ॥ —[40].

यस्यान[नि] शरदखण्डशशिप्रसन्ने कोपं व्यनक्ति हृदयस्थमरिप्रिया -

24. णां ।

सिंदूरभूषणविवर्जितमास्यपद्ममुत्सृष्टहारवलयं कुचमण्डलं च ॥ [55]—[41].

तेनैतच्चारु चामीकरकलसलसद्व्योम धाम व्यधायि

भ्राजिष्णु प्रांशुवंशध्वजपट[पटलां]दोलितां[भोज]वृन्दं ।

दैत्यारातेस्तुषारक्षितिधरशिखरस्पर्द्धि वर्द्धिष्णुरागा

दृष्टे यात्रासु यत्र तृ(त्रि)दिववसतयो विस्मयन्ते समेता: ॥ [56]—[42].

कैलाशा(सा)ङ्गोटनाथ: सुहृदिति च तत: की -

25. रराज: प्रपेदे

साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्ब(म्ब)पाल: ।

तत्सूनोर्देवपालात्तमथ हयप[ति]: प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां

वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारि: क्षिति[धरति]लक: श्रीयशोवर्मराज: ॥ —[43].

श्रीधङ्ग: स्वभुजप्रसाधितमहीनिर्व्याजराज्यस्थितिस्तस्मादास महोदधेरिव विधु: सूनुर्जनानन्दकृत् ।

युद्धे नश्यदरातिवर्गसुभटप्रस्तूयमानस्तुतिर्नि -

26. त्यं नम्र(म्र)महीपमौलिगलितस्रक्पूजितांघ्रिद्वय: ॥ [57]—[44].

आकालञ्चरमा च मालवनदीतीरस्थिते[58] भास्वत: कालिन्दीसरितस्तटादित इतोप्या चेदिदेशाव[धि:।]

[आ तस्मादपि?] विस्मयैकनिल[या]द्रोपाभिधानाद्गिरेर्य: शास्ति क्षि[ति]मायतोर्जितभुजव्यापारलीला-

र्जि[तां] ॥ —[45].

यस्त्यागविक्रमविवेककलाविलासप्रज्ञाप्रतापविभवप्रभवश्चरित्रात् ।

चक्रे कृती

27. सुमनसां मनसामकस्मादस्मादकालकलिकालविरामशंकां ॥[59]—[46].

शब्दा(ब्दा)नुशाश(स)नविदा पितृमान्व्यधत्त देहेन माधवकवि: स इमां प्रशस्तिं ।

यस्यामलं [कवि]यश: कृतिन: कथासु रोमाञ्चकञ्चुकजुष: परिकीर्त्तयन्ति ॥—[47].

संस्कृतभाषाविदुषा जय[गु?]ण[पुत्रे]ण कौतुका[ल्लिखि]ता ।

रुचिराक्षरा प्रशस्ति: करणिकजङ्घेन गौडेन ॥ [60]—[48].

पाताङ्ग -

28. मिपति: पृथ्वीं त्रयीधर्म्म[:][61] प्रवर्द्धतां । नन्दन्तु गोद्विजन्मान[:][61] प्रजा प्राप्नोतु निर्वृतिम् ॥[62]

—[49].

सम्वत्सरदशशतेषु एकादशाधिकेषु सम्वत् १०११ उत्कीर्णा चेयं रू[पका]र . . . . . .

. . . . . .[63]। श्रीं[वनायक?[64]]पालदेवे[65] पालयति [वसु]धां वसुधानां[ध?]ग[ता]

निर्द्दग्ध[वै?]रि[भ: ।?] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॥ नम: सवित्रे ॥

[55] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[56] Metre, Sragdharâ; and of the next verse.

[57] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîdita; and of the next verse.

[58] The vowel of this *akshara* (ते) may have been struck out. I would suggest reading ०स्थिताद्गास्वत:.

[59] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

[60] Metre, Âryâ

[61] These signs of *visarga* were originally omitted.

[62] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[63] Here from 10 to 12 *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

[64] Of the *aksharas* in these brackets only न and क appear to me to be certain.

[65] This वे was originally व:

TRANSLATION.

Om!

Adoration to the holy Vâsudeva!

(Verse 1.) May that Vaikuṇṭha protect you, who, frightening the whole world with his roaring, as boar and as man-lion, slew the three chief Asuras, Kapila and the rest, (*who were*) terrible in the world, (*and who*) possessed one body which by the boon of Brahman enjoyed freedom from fear (*and*) could be destroyed (*only*) by (*Vaikuṇṭha*) having assumed those forms!

(2.) May the three strides of the god Hari, (*made*) when he was cheating Bali, (*and*) at once praised by the astounded gods and demons, protect the three worlds! Even now that one father of the three worlds, Hara, bears on his head the holy water which, respectfully then offered by Brahman, fell on (*Hari's*) lotus-foot.

(3.) May that god protect you, on whose famous breast, broad like the wall of the Añjana mountain, (*and*) covered with drops of water so that it appeared like the star-covered sky, (*and*) marked with scars by the swords of the Daityas, fell, withdrawn from all (*other*) inhabitants of heaven, many glances of Lakshmî, agitated with confusion at the proximity of the Mandara mountain!

(4.) Deep like the oceans, pleasing like the moon, radiant with the brilliancy of the sun, firm like the Creator, great like the noblest of mountains, munificent like the trees of paradise,—tell me truly, if anywhere there has been another lord, charming with a multitude of spotless excellencies unchangeable to the end of the world, equal to Yaśovarman![66]

(5.) From Nature unmanifested (*and*) changeless there proceeded here the Great One; from that was born Self-consciousness, which engendered the group of the organs (*upagraha*); from that in due order the Subtile Elements took their origin, and from them the Gross Elements; from them afterwards proceeded the World.[67]

(6.) Then, when the whole world had come to an end, there was first here by his own greatness the mighty Creator, the first sage of all kinds of knowledge, the divine witness on high, skilful in creating the three worlds, that ruler over all who dwells on the filaments of the opening lotus.

(7.) From that Creator of the universe, that ancient being, that sage who is the abode of sacred knowledge, sprang those early sages of holy conduct, Marîchi and the rest. Atri, one of them, begat the sage Chandrâtreya, who by his ceaseless austerities acquired fierce might, (*and*) who was a flame of unfeigned intensely radiant knowledge.

(8.) The family proceeding from him, who caused the welfare of the worlds (*and*) was acquainted with every science (*and*) a receptacle of sacred lore that came to him of its own accord, is a fit object of laudation; (*a family*) where neither prowess has caused depression nor flattery elation, in which there has not been a particle even of

[66] The above gives the general meaning of the verse, I believe, correctly; but the first half of it does not admit of a proper construction.

[67] Compare, *e.g.*, the *Sâṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, translated by Ballantyne, 3rd Ed., p. 71; Davies, *Hindû Philosophy*, pp. 20 and 21, 35, 54. The word उपग्रह of the text appears to denote the five organs of sense, the five organs of action, and *manas*.

feebleness, and where the attainment of the objects desired has not tended to the destruction (*of the possessor*).

(V. 9.) How shall we praise the princes of spotless fame of that (*family*), whose thoughts were nobly directed towards the protection of people in distress, the possessors of every blessing who, full of energy, inasmuch as they practised the conduct of the golden age, had a meritorious existence, (*and*) who had the strength to destroy as well as to protect the whole earth ?

(10.) Among them there was the illustrious prince Nannuka, a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame; (*and*) of whom, inasmuch as his enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unprecedented valour, princes confounded, through fear, carried the command on their heads, like a garland.

(11.) As he conquered many hosts of enemies (*and*) was shaped like the god of love, his name, made known by the spread of the laudations uttered by groups of delighted panegyrists, at once took its place in the minds of deer-eyed women whose bodies were emaciated (*with love of him*), while despair unobstructed forcibly took hold on crowds of antagonists.

(12.) From him, who in battle defeated the enemies (*and*) whose speech was like that of Vâkpati, 'the lord of speech,' was born the illustrious Vâkpati, whose spotless fame roams about in all the three worlds, together verily with the rays of the sun.

(13.) Whose pleasure-mound (*was*) that Vindhya, the peaks of which are charming with the sweet notes of his excellencies sung by Kirâta women seated on spotless lotuses, (*and*) on which groups of peacocks are made to dance by the bubbling noise of waterfalls rushing down from its tops.

(14.) As the moon and the Kaustubha (*arose*) from the ocean of milk, so were born from that home of wonder two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.

(15.) Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise with shaking of heads the deeds of both of them, by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire.

(16.) The younger of the two begat a son named Râhila, thinking of whom the enemies enjoy little sleep at night.

(17.) Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation *vâshaṭ*, (*and*) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger.

(18.) Then that most excellent of rulers, whose vigour was aught but slight, begat the illustrious prince Harsha, who was almost like a tree of paradise, the flowers of whose widely expanding fame make the regions fragrant with the scent of their perfume even now.

(19.) In him (*were*) fortune and eloquence combined, statesmanship (*and*) heroism, vigour radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience come to him by nature, contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self-confidence. Endless as are his excellencies, what is it then that we shall praise of that meritorious store of marvel ?

(V. 20.) He who (*was*) afraid to offend against the law, anxious to worship the feet of (Vishṇu), the enemy of Madhu, unacquainted with wicked utterances, abashed when his own excellencies were being enumerated, void of calumnious speech, (*and*) mute by birth to utter untrue words,—what person then was he, that is thus praised as in every respect endowed by nature with famous qualities?

(21.) He, of beautiful body (*and*) unblunted intellect, with due rites married a suitable (*lady*) of equal caste, named Kañchhukâ, sprung from the Châhamâna tribe.

(22.) Arundhatî, priding herself to be her superior, was nevertheless unable to measure herself with her in devotion to her husband; and it was for this reason that she, although a good wife (*and*) intent to do the behests of her husband, extremely abashed as it were, became so utterly emaciated.

(23.) She bore to him that frontal ornament of princely families, the illustrious king Yaśovarmaṅ, who was a sword to (*cut down*) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khasas, (*and*) carried off the treasure of the Kośalas; before whom perished the Kaśmîrî warriors, who weakened the Mithilas, (*and*) was as it were a god of death to the Mâlavas; who brought distress on the shameful Chedis, who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, (*and*) a scorching fire to the Gûrjaras.

(24.) If (Karṇa), that munificent son of Râdhâ, and that true-speaking son of Pâṇḍu, and (Arjuṇa), that heroic son of Pṛithâ,—need we say it? if all those whose greatness is any way famous, who have passed away, were to be here again, they would, blushing at their own conduct, bend down their faces, were they to see him here now.

(25.) While *this* prince is protecting the distressed, the carrying of arms (*only*) tends to fatigue men; while *he* is granting desires, the trees of paradise (*only*) furnish beds of flowers for the amorous play of the Siddhas; the lord of riches has his mind bewildered at the growth of (*his*) real wealth, when *he* is dallying; while *his* face is a feast of the eyes, the moon causes delight (*only*) to groups of lotuses.

(26.) When the dust rose on the expeditions of his forces, the river of heaven had its current diverted midway by the embankments formed in it; the sun, having its lustre covered, was pleasant like a mirror; seeing the sky all over covered with clouds, the elephant of the lord of the gods became delighted, (*and*) the swans eagerly looked upwards, (*and*) a thousand eyes of averted enemies became closed.

(27.) Him, (*who remained*) calm at the head of battle, where a fire was spreading with the masses of flames issuing forth from the strokes of the big trunks, meeting in fight, of the mutually enraged elephants, (*which was*) terrible with the deep sounds of the bow-strings, (*and*) where the laughter of demons, intoxicated with the blood drunk by them, was made awful by their mad confused shouts,—him Fortune, frightened as it were, anxiously embraced.

(28.) Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Chedi king whose forces were countless, who had put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes, (*and*) who tried to protect himself by showers of arrows of enraged irresistible archers, standing on mighty infuriated elephants that were marching along like towering Añjana mountains.

(V. 29.) [This verse, of which a portion is more or less illegible in the original, appears to say that the wives of the enemies considered his face more beautiful even than the moon and the lotus].

(30.) At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountain, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umâ from every tree of paradise; where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges, (*and*) which were crowded with (*his*) mighty elephants, terrified at the roaring of lions suddenly awakened from their sleep.

(31.) [He easily conquered the Kâlañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day.]

(32.) By people who, since they began to handle the sword, have never ceased to observe the vow of heroism, by those who from childhood have never broken their plighted faith, by those who, till their hands began to ache, have bestowed ample wealth on suppliants, as well as by those who wish to have their desires fulfilled,—he is praised by (*all*) good men, enraptured at the tales of his high pre-eminence.

(33.) The people, among whom the notion of his being a human being had been banished by his manliness, certainly did absolve his fame from all blame for going to the sea, afraid as it was of incurring censure by coming in contact with other men, and of never obtaining rest if it were constantly to roam about.[68]

(34.) By (*having given birth to*) this steadfast (*prince*), Kañchhukâ alone in this world carried her head erect (*with pride*) at the birth of a son, just as Devakî did by (*giving birth to*) the enemy of Madhu.

(35.) Since the wives of the Siddhas sing his fame, the ornament of all faultless rulers, (*which is*) charming by reason of (*his*) heroism, generosity, wisdom, and a multitude of other spotless qualities,— to laud him, that sun in scattering the enemies, is like illumining the thousand-rayed (sun), when it has clearly manifested the three worlds.

(36.) In battle, the impetuous massive arms of that ocean of regal splendour, engaged in conquering the earth, did not cease to itch, even though the enemies,—their sight bewildered, when their minds were frightened by the loud fearful sound of the twanging of the string of his terrible large bow, crooked like the brow of the enraged god of death and emitting a shrill sound,—had clearly disappeared, nobody knew whither.

(37.) Whoever attempts to describe in words the expansion of the fame, pleasing like the autumnal moon, of the prince Lakshavarman, that foolish-minded person looks, because he is familiar with the light of a lamp, up to the lord of the day at mid-day.

(38.) This bright fame of his, which rivals the great splendour of the moon, proceeds to regions which (*even*) the sin-destroying Vâmana did not reach, when he rapidly crossed over the earth on the occasion of cheating the guileless-minded Bali, (*and*) which the sun (*even*) does not reach, because its rays are impeded by the hundreds of peaks of the Lokâloka mountains.

[68] According to Manu, III, 158, those who undertake voyages by sea, deserve censure and should be avoided.—I should have expected the particle इति to connect the two halves of the verse, and am inclined to read यस्येति पौरुष॰, instead of यस्यातिपौरुष॰.

(V. 39.) Steadfast (*and*) possessed of fierce ardour, the illustrious Lakshavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda and the offspring of Jahnu,[69] one after another, his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries, (*and rendering*) their waters muddy by the bathing of his furious mighty elephants.

(40.) In the halls of princes, where sages dwell, (*and*) where good people meet, in the village, in the assemblages of the lowly, among the rows of shops of merchants, (*and*) where streets cross, where wanderers talk together on the road, (*and*) in the huts of the dwellers of the forest,—everywhere everybody constantly from astonishment is loud only in praise of *his* excellencies.

(41.) His face being serene like the full-moon in autumn, the anger dwelling in his heart is manifested (*only*) by the lotus-faces, deprived of the decoration of red-lead, and by the round breasts, stripped of their pearl-strings, of the wives of his enemies.

(42.) *He* erected this charming splendid home of (Vishṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow; the golden pinnacles of which illumine the sky, (*and*) on which groups of lotuses are wafted to and fro by multitudes of banners on high poles; at the sight of which the inhabitants of heaven, met together on festivals, filled with increasing delight, are struck with wonder.

(43.) (*The image of*) Vaikuṇṭha (*which*) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yaśovarman, who crushed his enemies, has set up (*here*),—the lord of Bhoṭa obtained it from the Kailâsa, and from him Sâhi, the king of Kîra, received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapâla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (*Yaśovarman himself*) received it from Devapâla, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of (*Herambapâla*).

(44.) As the moon (*arose*) from the great ocean, so was born to him a son, causing joy to the people, the illustrious Dhaṅga, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth, whose praise is sung by champions before whom the hosts of enemies are perishing in battle, (*and*) whose two feet are constantly worshipped with garlands, fallen down from the crowns of princes who bow down (*before him*);

(45.) who rules the earth, playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kâlañjara and as far as Bhâsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mâlava; from here to the banks of the river Kâlindî, and from here also to the frontiers of the Chedi country, and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopâdri) which is the unique abode of marvel;

(46.) who, a source of munificence, bravery, discernment, of arts and dalliance, of intelligence, majesty and might, accomplishing his purposes, by means of such conduct, all at once created in the minds of well-disposed people the belief that the Kali-age had, out of season, come to an end.

(47.) The poet Mâdhava, whose father is Dedda, learned in grammar, has composed this eulogy, he whose spotless fame as a poet wise men, filled with rapture, celebrate in tales.

[69] *i.e.*, the Yamunâ and the Ganges.

(V. 48.) The eulogy has been eagerly written in pleasing letters by the son of Jayaguṇa (?), the writer of legal documents, Jaddha, the Gauḍa, who knows the Sanskṛit language.

(49.) May the ruler of the land protect the earth! May the law of the three Vedas prosper! May cows and the twice-born rejoice! May the people obtain happiness!

In ten hundred years increased by eleven; the year 1011.

Engraved (*was*) this (*eulogy*) by the artizan . . . . . .

While the illustrious Vinâyaka(?)pâladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated.

Adoration to the holy Vâsudeva! Adoration to the Sun!

III.

INSCRIPTION FROM A JAINA TEMPLE OF THE YEAR 1011.

This inscription[1] is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanâtha, at Khajurâho. It consists of 11 lines. The writing covers a space of about 8¾″ broad by 8¼″ high, and is well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½″. The characters are Nâgarî; in my opinion, not earlier than the thirteenth century. The language is Sanskṛit, and the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses offend against the metre, and the grammar is faulty; as regards orthography, the dental sibilant is throughout used for the palatal sibilant, and *sh* is employed instead of *kh* in *vaisâsha*, for *vaiśâkha*, line 10.

The inscription records a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pâhilla, whose name is spelt Pâhila, and who is described as held in honour by king Dhaṅga (or, possibly, Dhâṅga); and it is dated, in line 1, in the year 1011, and, in lines 10 and 11, on the 7th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, on Somadina or Monday. Regarding the figures for the year (1011), it must be stated that the artizan, in the place of the cypher, first engraved the figure 1, which he subsequently altered to 0; but the four figures actually are 1011, and cannot possibly be read in any other way. The inscription, then, is dated in the same year as the inscription of Yaśovarman (No. II, above), and it apparently mentions the same prince Dhaṅga, who is spoken of in that inscription as the ruling prince. Moreover, whatever may have been said to the contrary, the date undoubtedly works out satisfactorily. For, taking the figures 1011 to denote the southern Vikrama year 1011, expired, the corresponding day is April 2, A.D. 955, which *was* a Monday, as required.[2] On the other hand, the characters in which the inscription is engraved are far more modern than those of the inscription of Yaśovarman; and taking the date to be correct, and the references in both inscriptions to be to the same Dhaṅga (the only prince of that name known to us), we must of necessity assume that the inscription, as we now have it, has, similarly to the inscription of

[1] See Cunningham's *Archæol. Surv. of Ind.* vol. II, p. 433, and vol. XXI, p. 67. The inscription has been edited by Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXII, p. 279, and a photo-lithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xvi, J. I now re-edit it from an impression prepared by Dr. Burgess.

[2] The corresponding date for the northern Vikrama year 1011, current, would be Saturday, April 23, A.D. 953; and for the northern Vikrama year 1011, expired, or southern Vikrama year 1011, current, Wednesday, April 12, A.D. 954.

Dhaṅgadeva of the year 1059 (No. IV, below), been re-engraved from a more ancient copy.[3]

TEXT.[4]

1. श्रीं[5] [॥×] संवत् १०११ समये ॥[6] निजकुलधवलीयं दि-
2. व्यमूर्त्ति स्वसी(शी)ल स(श)मदमगुणयुक्त सर्व्व-
3. सत्वा(त्त्वा)नुकंपी [।×] स्वजनजनिततोषी धांगराजेन[7]
4. मान्य प्रणमति जिननाथोयं भव्यपाहिल[8]-
5. नामा ।(॥) १ ॥ पाहिलवाटिका १ चंद्रवाटिका २
6. लघुचंद्रवाटिका ३ सं(शं)करवाटिका ४ पंचाइ-
7. तलवाटिका ५-आम्रवाटिका ६ ध(धं?)गवाडी ७ [॥×]
8. [9]पाहिलवंसे(शे) तु क्षये क्षीणे अपरवंसो(शो) यः कोपि
9. तिष्ठति [।×] तस्य दासस्य दासोयं मम दतिस्तु[10] पाल-
10. येत् ॥ महाराजगुरुस्री(श्री)वासवचंद्र[ः ॥×] वैसा(शा)ष(ख)
11. सुदि ७ सोमदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om!

In the year 1011.

(Line 1.) He who bears the auspicious name Pâhilla, renders illustrious[11] his family, possesses a divine body (*and*) a good disposition, is endowed with the qualities of tranquillity and self-control, (*and*) takes compassion on all beings, is pleased by good people (*and*) held in honour by king Dhaṅga, he bows down here to the lord of the Jinas.

(5.) 1, the Pâhilla garden; 2, the Chandra garden; 3, the small Chandra garden; 4, the Śaṁkara garden; 5, the Pañchâitala[12] garden; 6, the mango garden; 7, the Dhaṅga garden-ground; (*these are my gifts*).

(8.) Whatever family there is here, when the family of Pâhilla is no more, I am the servant of its servant,—may it guard my gifts!

The Mahârâja-guru (*or high-priest, is*) the illustrious Vâsavachandra.

On the 7th day of the light half of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha, on a Monday.

[3] This, too, appears formerly to have been the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham; see *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXII, p. 274. In *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 67, the same scholar has taken the true date to be "Saṁvat 1111, or A.D. 1054, in which year *Vaiśâkha su.di* 7 did fall on Monday, the 18th April." In reality, however, *Vaiśâkha su.di* 7, in A.D. 1054, fell on Sunday, April 17.

[4] From the impression taken by Dr. Burgess.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre, Mâlinî; but the second half offends against the metre. I propose to read the whole verse thus: निजकुलधवलीयं दिव्यमूर्त्तिः सुशीलः शमदमगुणयुक्तः सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पी । सुजनजनिततोषी धङ्गराजेन मान्यः प्रणमति-जिननाथं भव्यपाहिल्लनामा ॥

[7] The *akshara* धां looks as if it had been altered to धं.

[8] The metre requires पाहिल्ल, and so the name is written in the inscription No. VIII, below.

[9] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); but the first half offends against the metre, and does not admit of a proper construction. I would suggest reading पाहिल्लवंशे तु क्षीणे वंशो यः कोपि तिष्ठति.

[10] Originally दंतिस्तु; read दत्तीस्तु.

[11] The word धवल 'white' is used in the sense of 'rendering white' (or bright, or famous).

[12] I do not understand this word.

IV.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHANGADEVA OF THE YEAR 1059; RENEWED BY JAYAVARMADEVA IN THE YEAR 1173.

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in February 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, at a temple of Khajurâho, and it is now built into the wall on the right side of the entrance of the temple of Viśvanâtha, at the same place.[1] I am now able to publish an improved version of the text, from two excellent impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription consists of 34 lines. The writing covers a space of about 5′ 2″ broad by 2′ 10″ high, and, except that a crack, which runs through the stone from top to bottom, has rendered one or two *aksharas* illegible, it is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is from ¾″ to 1″. The characters are Nâgarî; they are not formed very carefully, and it is therefore occasionally difficult to distinguish between the signs for *dha* and *va*, those for *ta*, *na* and *la*, those for *cha* and *ra*, those for *ya* and *sa*, and those for *rgga* and *rmma*. The language is Sanskṛit, and, excepting the introductory blessing, and the two dates in lines 32-33 and at the end of line 34, the inscription is in verse. From a grammatical point of view, I need only state that in line 34 we find the wrong form *prollikhat*, for *prodalikhat*. As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is 43 times put for the palatal sibilant (*e.g.*, in *sikhari*, line 1, *sukla* and *śisutve*, line 3, *vaṁsa*, lines 7, 21, 27 and 30, &c.) and the palatal sibilant 12 times for the dental sibilant (*e.g.*, in *praśaṁśâ*, line 8, *śaṁkochitâḥ*, line 9, *śrajaḥ*, line 10, &c.); for *jjv* we have *jv* in *ujvala*, lines 5, 10, 15, 24, and 31, and for the lingual or palatal nasal the dental nasal in *hiranmayaṁ*, line 4, *kshunna*, line 20, *svachchhan=cha*, line 16, and in *dhyâyan=japan jâhnavî-*, line 29. Besides, the sign for *visarga* has been wrongly omitted in *varṇṇa svarṇṇa-*, line 15; and the rules of euphony have been neglected in *niḥkriyâya*, line 1, and *vahiḥkṛita*, line 14, and in *ripoḥ chchhettâ*, line 22.

The inscription may be divided into two parts, the first of which ends with the words *prasastiḥ siddhâ* in line 33, while the second part comprises the remaining portion, to the end. This concluding portion merely records that the (preceding part of the) inscription (which may be supposed to have become damaged or illegible) was caused to be (re-)written in clear letters by the illustrious prince Jayavarmadeva, and that, as we now actually have it on the stone, the inscription was written by the Kâyastha Jayapâla, of the Gauḍa country; and the date of this renewal of the inscription is (in line 34) stated to be "the year 1173, the 3rd day of the bright half of (the month) Vaiśâkha, on Śukra or Friday," a date on which I shall have to comment below.

[1] This inscription was first edited, most carelessly, from impressions taken by Captain Burt, and with an English translation by Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VIII, pp. 159-184 (Conf. also Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 782-787). Subsequently, the text of the inscription has been re-edited by myself, in the *Nachrichten d. Königl. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, pp. 441-462, from an indifferent rubbing made by or for Sir A. Cunningham, and handed over to me by Mr. Fleet; and a small photolithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xviii. In his plate it is wrongly described as the 'Inscription of Gaṇḍa Deva.' The name Gaṇḍa occurs nowhere in this inscription. In 1887, Mr. Fleet made over to me several very fair rubbings of the inscription, which would have enabled me to correct some of the readings in my previous edition of the text.

The contents of the first part of the inscription (or of the original inscription which was renewed under Jayavarmadeva) may be shortly stated to be as follows:—

After the introductory blessing "Oṁ, adoration to Śiva," the poet praises Śiva (Rudra, Digambara, Śûladhara, Maheśvara), Bhâratî, the goddess of eloquence, and Gaṇeśa, and expresses his devotion to other great poets (verses 1-6). Verse 7 describes how the mundane egg came into existence. From the two halves of it Brahman made heaven and earth, while from his own mind he created Marîchi and other sages (v. 8). The most distinguished among these was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon, and whose son was the sage Chandrâtreya, the progenitor of the distinguished race called after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts (vv. 9-12). After having expressed his admiration of the former great kings of the Chandrâtreya family (v. 13), the poet goes on to relate how in the course of time there came in this race a prince named Nannuka (v. 14), whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna (v. 15). He had a son, Vâkpati (v. 16), who by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings Pṛithu and Kakutstha (v. 17). His son was Vijaya (v. 18), whose fame was sung by semi-divine beings (v. 19), and who, after having subdued the neighbouring countries, like Râma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India (v. 20). He had a son, Râhila (v. 21), who favoured his friends and punished his enemies (vv. 22-23), and whose son, again, was Harsha (v. 24), a king who protected the whole earth and subdued his adversaries (vv. 25-28). Harsha's wife Kañchhukâ (vv. 29-30) bore to him a son, named Yaśovarmadeva (v. 31), who, pious and munificent (vv. 32-33), reduced other kings to the state of dependency (v. 34), filled the whole earth with his renown and with the fame of his excellencies (vv. 35-36), and firmly established his rule (v. 37). He caused a large tank to be dug (v. 38), and erected a magnificent temple for (Vishṇu) Vaikuṇṭha, which, to judge from the wording of verse 39, was near the temple at which the present inscription was put up, and which clearly is the temple the erection of which is recorded in the inscription of Yaśovarman himself (No. II, above). Yaśovarman's wife, Puppâ (vv. 40-41), bore to him a son, Dhaṅga (v. 42), who is compared with Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa (vv. 43-44). He was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Siṁhala (Ceylon), and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands (v. 45), and so successful in his wars that the wives of the kings of Kâñchî, Andhra, Râḍhâ and Aṅga lingered in his prisons (v. 46). In short, Dhaṅga's fame spread to the furthermost borders of the inhabited globe, and even beyond (v. 47).

I may state here at once that the list of princes of the Chandrâtreya (or Chandella) family, contained in the preceding, closely agrees with the list known to us from the inscription of Yaśovarman, the only differences being, that the present inscription calls Vijayaśakti simply Vijaya and omits his elder brother Jayaśakti, and that it tells us the name of Yaśovarman's queen. A comparison of the two inscriptions clearly shows that the author of the present inscription had the inscription of Yaśovarman before him; and, desirous of making the prince Dhaṅga, with whom he is more particularly concerned, appear even more illustrious than Yaśovarman, he does not hesitate to cover the former with the most fulsome praise which, from an historical point of view, is of no value whatever.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record that Dhaṅga erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu (Śiva), with two *liṅgas*, one of emerald and the other

of stone (vv. 48-51). He also distributed great quantities of gold (v. 52), and established, in connection with the temple, dwellings for pious Brâhmans to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows (vv. 53-54).

The inscription was put up after the death of Dhaṅga; for verse 55 relates that, when Dhaṅga had ruled the whole earth over which he alone held sway, and had lived rather more than a hundred years, he abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunâ and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra and muttering holy prayers.

This eulogy of the prince was completed, when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was directing the administration of justice (v. 56). It was composed by the poet Râma, the son of Balabhadra, and grandson of the poet Nandana who was of the Sâvara (or Śâbara) family and a resident of Tarkârikâ (vv. 57-58) written by the Kâyastha Yaśaḥpâla (v. 59), and engraved by Siṁha (v. 62). The temple erected by Dhaṅga for (Śiva) Pramathanâtha was built by the architect Chhichchha (v. 60). May it last for ever! (v. 61)

Yaśodhara, who is mentioned in the preceding paragraph, is almost certainly the *Bhaṭṭa* Yaśodhara, who figures as donee in the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant of Dhaṅgadeva,[2] of the (Vikrama) year 1055; and the same grant also mentions the place Tarkârikâ.

The original inscription, in lines 32-33, ends with the words: "The year 1059 (which as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1001-2); at the glorious Kharjûravâhaka, in the realm of the illustrious king Dhaṅgadeva; the eulogy of the glorious divine Marakateśvara (*i.e.*, the emerald-lord, either Śiva whose emerald *liṅga* has been mentioned before, or the temple dedicated to him) is completed." The date shows that Dhaṅga died between the Vikrama years 1055, the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant mentioned above, and 1059. Kharjûravâhaka clearly is the older name of Khajurâho, where the inscription has been found, and where it is still. It is strange that the inscription should contain no allusion whatever to the successor of Dhaṅgadeva.

The date of the renewal of the document, with which the inscription now ends does not work out altogether satisfactorily. As mentioned above, the data for calculation are: the (Vikrama) year 1173, the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, Śukra or Friday. Vaiśâkha śu-di 3 of the northern Vikrama year (beginning with the month Chaitra) 1173, *current*, corresponds to March 30, A.D. 1115, which was a *Tuesday*; and the same day of the northern Vikrama year 1173, *expired*, or the southern Vikrama year (beginning with the month Kârttika) 1173, *current*, corresponds to April 17, A.D. 1116, which was a *Monday*. In the southern Vikrama year 1173, *expired*, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, calculated by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, began 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, April 6, A.D. 1117, and ended 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, April 7. I entertain little doubt that Friday, April 6, A.D. 1117, is really the day intended by the inscription, although according to the civil reckoning that day was the 2nd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, but, in the absence of additional details regarding the date, I am unable to speak more positively in this matter.

[2] Edited by me in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

TEXT.[1]

L. 1. ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

विष्टपविकटवटानामजायमानाय वीजभूताय। रुद्राय नमः पालनविलयकृते निःक्रियायापि [2]॥[3]—[1].

तूर्णं घूर्णंति यत्र गोत्रसि(शि)खरिव्यूहः समूहः पत -

त्यत्यावर्त्तितमूर्त्तिरार्त्तविरुतं कुर्व्वन्ककुप्कुम्भिनाम् ।

सप्तांभोध्यवधिप्रधूतवसुधाव(ब)न्धः कव(ब)[न्धो]कृत -

स्त्र -

2. [र्गा]द्रिः[4] क्षयकांडतांडवविधिः शैवः शिवायास्तु वः ॥[5]—[2].

कस्त्वं द्वारि दिगंव(ब)रः क्षपणकः कस्मादकस्मादहो

वा(बा)ले शूलधरो धिगायुधविधिं व(ब)र्हास्त्वदर्हो ननु ।

मां जानीहि महेश्वरं स्फुटमिदं वस्त्वेप्यभावादिति

प्रेयस्या परिहासतो विहसितं शंभोः शुभायास्तु वः ॥ —[3].

पशुपतिवदनच्छद्मनि कृतवसतिः पद्मसद्मनि स -

3. दा या । जयति विलक्षणरूपा सु(शु)क्लाभा भारती भ्रमरी ॥[6] —[4].

गिरिशशिरसि यच्छन्हस्तमिन्दोः कलायां मुहुरमलमृणालीग्रासगृध्नुः शिसु(शु)त्वे ।

जयति विधुतमूर्द्धोन्नाललीलांवु(बु)जेन स्मितकुपितमृडानीताडितो नागवक्त्रः ॥[7]—[5].

निजोपज्ञप्रज्ञाप्रसरपरिविस्फारमुकुरे पदार्थानां सार्थः प्रतिफलति

4. येषामवितथः ।

गिरां ग्रामो येषामधरमधिशेते स्वयमयं नमस्तेभ्यः सद्मस्थिलकितजगद्भ्रः किमपरम् ॥[8]—[6].

कल्पादौ किल केवलं खमखिलं ध्वांतावनद्धं ध्रुवं

शून्यं वीक्ष्य सिसृक्षतो जगदभूद्भ्र[द्रा]दमुद्रोनिलः ।

तत्राभूदनलोनलाज्जलमभूद्वीजादमोघाज्जले

ज्वालामालि हिरन्म(ण्म)यं महदभूदंडं विभोर्व्र(ब्र)ह्मणः ॥[9]—[7].

तदंडभांडखंडाभ्यां

5. द्यां भुवं विदधे धिया ।

व्र(ब्र)ह्मा व्र(ब्र)ह्मनिधीन् पुत्रान् मरीच्यादि[त्र]मुखान्मुनीन् ॥[10]—[8].

मध्ये तेषां प्रहततमसां मानसानां मुनीनां श्रीमानत्रिः प्रथितमहिमा नेत्रपात्रे प्रसूतम् ।

यस्य ज्योतिःपटलजटिलं मंडलं वन्द्यमिन्दोश्चंद्रात्रेयः समजनि मुनिस्तस्य पुत्रः पवित्रः ॥[11]—[9].

दूरापास्तसमस्तसंशयविपर्यासप्रकामोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल -

ज्ञानालोकविलो -

[1] From impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.
[2] Read निष्क्रि°.
[3] Metre, Âryâ.
[4] The *akshara* र्गा, in the original, looks like र्मा.
[5] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita ; and of the next verse. Metre, Âryâ.
[7] Metre, Mâlinî.
[8] Metre, Śikhariṇî. This verse has been omitted in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VIII, p. 168.
[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[10] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[11] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

6. कितारिखिलजगत्सर्गापवर्गस्थितेः । -
सर्व्वज्ञप्रतिमस्य त[स्य] कृतिनः कारुण्यपुण्यात्मनः ।[12]
पारं गंतुमनन्तदीपमहसः को वा महिम्नां क्षमः ॥ [13]—[10].
नीरंध्रो निर[घो][14]निसर्गसरलः सारो[त्त]राभ्यन्तरो निर्ग्रंथिः पृथुलाग्रभागसुभगः पर्व्वस्वखर्व्वस्थितिः।
श्रामलं फलितोप्यसेवितविपत्क्रूरारिदावाग्निना न म्लानिं गमितस्ततः समभवद्दंशीयम -
7. त्यद्भुतः ॥ —[11].
श्राचंद्रं चंद्रात्रेयवंस(श)जाः क्षितिभुजः क्षितिम् । भोक्ष्यन्त्यक्षतदोर्द्दंडचंडिमानोत्रितेजसा ॥ [15]—[12].
ये पूर्व्वेव पवित्रितक्षितितलाः सत्कर्म्मस[र्गे][16]प्रियाः ।
प्राणप्रार्थनयाप्यखिन्नमनसः[17] पर्याप्तसत्यव्रताः ।
निःसिंदूरितदुर्व्विनीतव(ब)लवन्सा(त्सा)मन्तसीमन्तिनी -
सीमान्ताः[18] पृथिवीभुजो विजयिनस्तेभ्योखिलेभ्यो नमः ॥ [19]—[13].
8. कालेनेह महावंशे प्रशंशा(सा)प्रांशुरंशुमान् । मुक्तामणिरिव श्रीमान्नन्नुकीभून्महीपतिः ॥ [20]—[14].
तेन विक्रमधनेन धन्विना क्रामता युधि वधाय विद्विषाम् ।
धुन्वता धनुरधिज्यमर्ज्जुनं स्मारिता दिवि विमानगामिनः ॥ [21]—[15].
तस्मादुदारकीर्त्तेरजनि जनानंदसुंदरः श्रीमान् ।
तनयो विनयनिधानं वाक्पतिरिव वाक्पतिः क्षितिपः ॥ [22]—[16].
विद्यावदा -
9. तद्धृदयेन हृदि प्रजानामातंकशंकुमकलंकितविक्रमेण ।
तेनापनीय नयनिर्म्मललोचनेन शं(सं)कोचिताः पृथुककुस्थ(त्स्थ)कथार्थकथाः ॥ [23]—[17].
तस्य क्ष्मातिलकस्य लोकतिलकः पृथ्वीपतेर्भूपतिः
स श्रीमान्विजयो जयाय जगतां जज्ञे कृतज्ञः सुतः ।
यस्योदात्तमतेः प्रसूतिसमये धात्रां
10. महिम्नां निधेः
सानंदं सुरसुंदरीभिरवनी क्षिप्ताः सलाजाः श्र(स्र)जः ॥ [24]—[18].
किन्नरीभिरधिकंधरं सखीराकलय्य भुजयास्य भूभुजः ।
काकलीकलमगीयत स्फुरत्प्रीथमुत्पुलकमुज्व(ज्ज्व)लं यशः ॥ [25]—[19].
विनयनतसुमित्रापत्यसंवाहितांघ्रिः प्रवरहरिचमूभिः क्रान्तपर्यन्तभूमिः ।
सुहृदुपकृति -

[12] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.
[14] I am doubtful about this *akshara;* in the original, it looks like वा or ना
[15] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh). The editor in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VIII, gives only part of this verse, and adds the note (p. 177): 'The rest of this śloka is wanting.'
[16] This *akshara* again, in the original, is rather र्म्मे than र्गे.
[17] The *akshara* न had originally been omitted, and is engraved below the line.
[18] Read ०सीमन्ताः, and compare, *e.g.*, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 127 and p. 247.
[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[20] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[21] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.
[22] Metre, Âryâ.
[23] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[24] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[25] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

11. दक्षो दक्षिणाशां जिगीषुः पुनरधित पयोधेर्व(र्ब)न्धवैधुयमर्यः[26] ॥[27]—[20].

तस्मान्नृपतिसमुद्रादुदपादि नरेंद्रचंद्रमाः सूनुः ।

स श्रीराहिलनामा विहततमा[28] वंदिता[भ्यु]दयः ॥[29] —[21].

प्रसन्ने तत्र भूपाले प्रसरच्चित्रभानवः । ना[थ]वन्तोर्थिनां वा[सा[30]]: सरोषे द्विषदालयाः ॥ [31]—[22].

कोशपानमसिधा(वा)रयोषि -

12. तां नाभिभूतजनरत्नसंपदां ।

पक्षपातमिषुदुष्टभूभृतः प्रापुरस्य न सुहृत्सभासदः ॥ [32]—[23].

तस्मात्तीव्रप्रतापज्वलनकवलितोत्तालभूपालतूला -

[न्मू]लाच्छीलद्रुमाणामनणुगुणगणालंकृतेः कीर्त्तिभर्त्तुः ।

स श्रीहर्षोरिहर्षज्वरहरणमणिः क्षीणनिःशेषदोषः

सन्तोषाय प्रजानामज -

13. नि निजभुजाश्रान्तविभ्रान्तकीर्त्तिः ॥ [33]—[24].

यं दृष्ट्वैव कृपाणपाणिमकृतव्यापारभा[रं] युधि

क्रोधाक्रान्तविलोचनौ(नो)त्पलदलभ्रूभंगभीमाननम् ।

उत्साहो हृदयाद्धनुः करतला[द्ग]वो[34] मुखात्कीर्त्तयो

दिग्भ्यः साध्वसवेपमानवपुषां नष्टाः परेषां क्रमात् ॥ [35]—[25].

तेनाच्युतेन भीमेन व(ब)लेन कृतवर्म्म -

14. णा । समुद्रपरिखा पृथ्वी पुरी सू(शू)रेण रचिता ॥ [36] —[26].

अपक्षधात्रीधररक्षणक्षमः सदैव दोषाकरसंगभंगुरः ।

[37]वह्निःकृतक्रूरभुजंगसंगमस्तिरस्करोति स्म स तूर्णमर्णवम् ॥ [38]—[27].

दूरा[पा][39]स्तप्रवरतुरगैर्दूरमुक्तातपत्रैर्दूरायातैः सपदि शिरसा [शा]सनं धारयद्भिः ।

तस्य द्वारि द्विरदमदनिःस्यदपंकां[40]-

15. कितायां सेधा(वा)हेतोः प्रणतिपरमैराशि(सि)तं भूमिपालैः ॥ [41]—[28].

[26] 'Desirous of conquering the southern region, the lord again brought the ocean to the wretched state of captivity;' *i.e.* he built a bridge between the continent and Ceylon, as Râma had done before him. The adjectives of the preceding lines of course refer to the prince as well as to Râma. See my note 116 in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 42; and for the play on the word सुमित्र or सुमित्रा, *e.g.*, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 30.

[27] Metre, Mâlinî.

[28] Originally विहिततमा, altered to विहततमा.

[29] Metre, Âryâ.

[30] The *akshara* in brackets, in the original is स; but there appears to be a mark above it, which may be intended to change it to सा. 'When this prince was pleased, the dwellings of supplicants, who in him had a supporter, were covered with bright splendour; but when he was angry, fire spread over the habitations of his enemies, who in him found their master.'

[31] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[32] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.—'Swords were protected by scabbards, and courtezans drank from drinking cups, but he did not guard the treasure, consisting in jewels, of the people subdued by him; arrows lost their feathers, and wicked princes felt his partiality, but not his friends and counsellors.'

[33] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[34] The *akshara* द्ग is a mere guess; on the stone it is entirely gone.

[35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[37] Read वह्निकृत॰.

[38] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[39] This *akshara*, पा, is almost entirely gone.

[40] Read ॰निस्यन्द॰.

[41] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

हत्तोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला गुणाधारा महार्घा हृदयंगमा। हारावलीव तस्यासीत्कंकुकेति प्रियोत्तमा। (॥)[42]—[29].
वर्ण्ण[:×] स्वर्ण्णरुचिर्विलोचनयुगं नीलं सचंद्रोपलं[43]
पाणिः शो[ण][44]मणिद्युतिः सचरणो दन्तच्छदो विद्रुमः ।
सद्यःसु(शु)क्तिविमुक्तमौक्तिकतल -

16. स्वच्छ[न्च(च्च) चे]तो यतः
स्त्रीरत्नं भुवनैकभूषणमभूत्तेनैयमेका सती ॥[45]—[30].
तस्यास्तस्य स्मरणविहिताघौघविध्वंसनायाः सत्तीर्थायास्त्रिदशसरितः शान्तनोः पुण्यकीर्त्तेः ।
धर्म्माधारः पितरि सुतरां साधुरिद्धप्रभावो भीष्मो प(य)हत्समजनि सुतः श्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवः ॥[46]—[31].
तस्य विप्रचरणप्रणामजं

17. शैशवे शिरसिजश्रितं रजः ।
अप्यकालपलिताकृतिं दधत्संदधावधिककामनीयकं ॥[47]—[32].
एकस्मै याचमानाय द्विजाय पलदः शिविः । यावदर्थिजनं प्रादात्कोटिं कोटिमसौ नृपः ॥[48]—[33].
नंतुं भूमिलितालिकेन सदसि व्यस्तासवे(ने)नासितुं
गंतुं पत्रपुरःसरेण चरणैः स्थातुं च नोचैश्चि -

18. रम् ।
वक्तु जीव जयादिशेति नियमं कर्त्तुं विनीतात्मना
तस्मिन्राजति(नि) राजकेन जयिनि त्वासादिदं सि(शि)क्षितं ॥[49]—[34].
नित्यो(त्यो)दितेंदुभुजगाधिपधाम नित्यमानंदि कुंदकुसुमं गगनांगणं च ।
तेनाद्भुतं द्वयमिदं यशशा(सा) व्यधायि धा[त्री]तलं शि(सि)तसुधाधवलत्वचित्रम्[50] ॥[51]—[35].
संभवति

19. भुवि मनुष्यः सप्ताकूपारपारदृश्वापि । न पुनरिह तस्य नृपतेर्गुणसागरपारगः कश्चित् ॥[52]—[36].
गांधारीं भजता प्रहृष्टशकुनिस्वानप्रियां प्रेयसीं
भीष्मद्रोणवचांस्यकर्ण्णसुखदान्याकर्ण्य[53] संमूर्च्छता ।

[42] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[43] Read सचंद्रोत्पलं—'her pair of eyes was a lotus illuminated by the moon.'

[44] This *akshara*, in the original, appears to be णि, altered to ण.

[45] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[46] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.—'The son of Śântanu was the illustrious and learned Bhîshma, who was born to him by the holy river-goddess, Gaṅgâ.'—Wilson, *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, vol. IV, p. 20.

[47] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[48] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).—'Śivi gave to one *dvija* (*i.e.*, a bird), that asked him, a *pala* (*i.e.*, a portion of his own flesh); that prince gave to every supplicant *dvija* (*i.e.*, twice-born) ten millions of *palas* (*i.e.*, pieces of gold).'—See M. Williams, *Dictionary*, *s. v.* शिवि.

[49] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[50] The stone originally had ॰सुधाव(?)धवलत्वचित्रम्, but the *akshara* following upon सुधा has certainly been struck out, and the same appears to be the case with the two signs for *anusvâra*.—'Eternal is (the ocean), the home of the again and again rising moon and of the chief of serpents; pleasing is the (white) jasmine-flower and the court of heaven. *He* in a wonderful manner brought about both these things by his fame (which is imperishable and bright); the whole earth is bright with the whiteness of white mortar (filled as it is with *his* bright fame).'

[51] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[52] Metre, Âryâ.

[53] Originally ॰सुखादा॰, altered to ॰सुखदा॰.

[नी][54] धर्म्मप्रभवं विरोधितवता प्राप्यापि वंशक्षयं

[सं]प्राप्ता धृतराष्ट्रता [स]सुहृ -

20. दा विद्वेषिणेत्यद्भुतम् ॥[55]—[37].

कष्टात्षष्टिसहस्रसूनु[56]भिरसूनुत्सृज्य खातः कृत -

स्तत्पीतप्रमुखैः पुनस्त्रिभिरसावंभोभिरापूरितः ।

वृत्तान्तं सगरस्य सागरविधावाकर्ण्य तूर्णं सुधीः

स्वर्द्रावानधिकं व्यधत्त जलधेर्वै(वै)ल्वं तडागार्णवम् ॥ —[38].

तस्येदं सा(शा)रदेन्दुद्युति[ख][57]रसि(शि)खरक्षुन्न(ण्ण)नक्ष[त्र×][58]चक्रा -

क्षं[क्रं रक्ष]त्रसु -

21. ष्मादपथ(न)यति रथं सारथिः संप्रसप्तेः ।

यत्कुंभः सा(शा)तकुम्भस्तुहिनगिरिसि(शि)रस्तुम्बि(म्बि)वि(बि)म्बा(म्बा)र्कतर्कं

कुर्व्वन्नास्ते समस्तस्तुतमसुररिपोर्व्वेश्म(श्म) वैकुण्ठमूर्त्तेः ॥[59]—[39].

महावंस(श)समुत्पन्ना प्रसन्ना [धारि]तावनी । नर्म्मदेवाभवद्देवी पुष्पा[60] तस्य महीपतेः ॥[61]—[40].

सदानसूया विहितागसेप्यसावरुंधती

22. जीवितमप्युपासिता ।

व(ब)भौ मदान्धान्दमयन्त्यनिन्दिता मदालसाभून्न पुनः कथंचन ॥[62]—[41].

सा देवी नरदेवाद्देवाधिपतेः स(श)चीव सच्चरित्रं(तं) ।

तस्मादसूत पूतं जयंतमिव [धं][63]गमंगभुवम् ॥[64]—[42].

[54] This is a mere conjecture; the original has त or तं, altered to some *akshara* or other which is not clear in the impressions; the first *akshara*, सं, of the following line also is indistinct.—Dhṛitarâshṭra, the nephew of Bhîshma and father of the Kauravas, had for his wife Gândhârî, the sister of Śakuni; Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the Pâṇḍavas, was the son of Dharma; Droṇa was the teacher of the Kauravas and Pâṇḍavas, and Karṇa an ally of the Kauravas. I therefore should translate the verse, in the first instance, as follows:—'Having for his beloved Gândhârî, who was fond of the voice of the joyful Śakuni,—stupefied when he heard the speeches, which gave no pleasure to his ear, of Bhîshma and Droṇa,—not hostile to the son of Dharma, even when he saw his own race destroyed by him,—(the prince) who was (both) a good friend (and) an enemy, came to be Dhṛitarâshṭra.' This wonder is explained when we take the last line to mean, that the prince, surrounded by good friends and free from enemies, firmly established his government; and then understand the preceding lines to say, that he had for his wife a Gândhâra princess (?) who was fond of the song of merry birds,—that he was stupefied when he heard the ominous cries of ravens, which did not please his ears,—and that he did not act contrary to law, even when the existence of his family was at stake.

[55] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[56] Originally ०सूनि०, altered to ०सूनु०.—Compare Monier Williams, *Dictionary*, under सगर and भगीरथ.

[57] Originally खु, altered to ख.

[58] Perhaps this *akshara* is engraved below the line.

[59] Metre, Sragdharâ.—If the verse, as given above, is correct,—and I do not see how it could be read differently,—it is badly constructed, mainly, because in the second line we expect the relative यस्मात्, instead of the demonstrative अमुष्मात् The meaning of the verse I take to be: 'He erected this dwelling, praised by all, of Vaikuṇṭha, the enemy of the Asuras from which the charioteer of the sun, to save the wheels, turns away his chariot, because with its sharp sp[illegible] the autumnal moon, it pierces the Zodiac; and the golden dome of which always causes it to be taken f[illegible] with its orb the peaks of the mountain of snow.'—Compare verse 50, below.

[60] On the best of my impressions this word is quite distinct, and I take it to be the name of the q[illegible] verse is compared with the river Narmadâ. Compare *Amarakośa*, नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा.

[61] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[62] Metre, Vaṃśastha.—Indirectly the princess is compared with Anasûyâ, Arundhatî, Damayantî, and [illegible]pare the similar verse 26, above.

[63] This *akshara*, in all the impressions, is rather धं than धं; but see below.

[64] Metre, Âryâ.

यशोदानन्द[भाक्च]क्रे पूतनामा रणक्रियां। जातो वृष्णिकुले कं स रिपोः च्छेत्ता[65] नरोत्तमः ॥[66]—[43].
तस्मा[त्स[67] -

23. सुत्थि?]तक्रोधावृसिंहान्नखलाविनः । हिरण्यकशिपुप्राणत्राणं चक्रे न केनचित् ॥ —[44].
देवालीकय कोशलेश्वरमितस्तूर्णं समाकर्ण्यता -
मादेशः क्रथनाथ सिंहलपते नत्वा व(ब)हिः स्थीयताम् ।
त्वं वि[ज्ञा]पय कुंतलेन्द्र वदने दत्त्वोत्तरीयांचलम् ।[68]
तस्यास्थानगतस्य[69]

24. वेत्रिभिरिति व्यक्तं समुक्तं वचः ॥[70]—[45].
का त्वं कांचीनृपतिवनिता का[71] त्वमंध्राधिपस्त्री का त्वं राढापरिवृढवधूः का त्वमंगेंद्रपत्नी [।×]
इत्यालापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियाणां कारागारे सजलनयनेंदीवराणां व(ब)भूवुः ॥ [72]—[46].
का त्वं कस्य किमर्थमत्र भवती प्राप्ता शशांकोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला
सिद्धाः

25. कीर्त्तिरहं वु(बु)धैकसुहृदः श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतेः ।
भ्रांत्वा विस्व(श्व)मशेषमागतवती स्फारीभवत्कौतुका
लोकालोकमहामहीध्रसि(शि)खरश्रेणिश्रियं वीक्षितुं ॥[73]—[47].
मरकतमयं तुंगं लिंगं यदर्चितमैश्वरं त्रिदशपतिना तस्माल्लब्धं(ब्धं) प्रसाद्य किरीटिना ।
तदवनितलं तेनानीतं युधिष्ठिरपूजितं जयति

26. जगति श्रीधंगेन प्रणम्य निवेसि(शि)तं ॥[74]—[48].
वेस्म(श्म)न्यस्म(श्म)मयस्तेन भूपालेन प्रतिष्ठितः। द्वितीयो द्योतते देवः क्लेशपास(श)हरो हरः॥[75]—[49].
तेनायं स(श)रदभ्रसु(शु)भ्रसि(शि)खरः श्रीधंगपृथ्वीभुजा
प्राशा(सा)दस्त्रिदशप्रभोर्भगवतः सं(शं)भोः समुत्तंभितः ।
यस्याभ्रंकषकालधौतकलसप्रान्तस्खलत्स्यं(त्स्यं)दनो
मेरोः सृं(शृं) -

27. गमतुंगमेव मनुते चित्रीयमाणोरुणः ॥[76]—[50].
भक्त्या भवस्य नूनं शिल्पिस(श)रीरेषु कृतसमावेशः ।

[65] Read रिपोश्छेत्ता.—'Worshipping Vishṇu (the joy of Yaśodâ), the pure-named one engaged in battle; born, an object of joy, in a fierce race, that destroyer of enemies was the best of men (Krishṇa),—who, worshipping Yaśodâ and Nanda, brought about the destruction of (the fiend) Pûtanâ, and who, born in the Vṛishṇi race, annihilated the enemy Kaṁsa.'—Compare, *e.g.*, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 12 and p. 150.

[66] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[67] About the *aksharas* in these brackets I am very doubtful. In the impressions, the first of them looks somewhat like त्सा, *i.e.*, त्सी, the second like न, and the third like वि; but the third *akshara* appears certainly to have been altered, and probably also the first. हिरण्यकशिपु also means 'gold and food and clothing;' compare, *e.g.*, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 11, and *Damayantî-kathâ*, p. 22.

[68] Read ०चलं.

[69] Originally तस्य स्था०.

[70] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[71] Originally क.

[72] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

[73] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[74] Metre, Hariṇî.

[75] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh). प्रतिष्ठित is here, as elsewhere, used in the sense of प्रतिष्ठापित.

[76] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Compare verse 39, above.

स्वयमेव विश्वकर्म्मा तोरणरचनामिमां चक्रे ॥[77]—[51].
जयति विकटो [व][78] टोयं हाटककोटीरनेन तुलयित्वा ।
अतुलेन तुलापुरुषाः स(श)तसो(शो) विश्राणितास्तेन ॥ —[52].
षट्कर्म्मा[भि]रता[79] रताः परहिते संसु(शु)द्धवंस(श)द्दया-
28. : प्रारब्धा(ब्धा)ध्वरधूमधूम्रवपुषोप्येकान्ततो निर्म्मलाः ।
तेनैते धनधान्यधेनुवसुधादानेन संमानिताः
सौधेषु स्फटिकाद्रिकूटविकटेष्वारोपिता ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाः ॥[80]—[53].
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मसु ब्र(ब्र)ह्मकल्पेषु येष्वेकत्र निवासिषु । दक्षिणेन तुषाराद्रिं कल्पग्रामोपरोभवत् ॥[81]—[54].
रचित्वा क्षितिमंवु(बु)रासि(शि)रस(श)नामेतामनन्यायतिं
29. जीवित्वा स(श)रदां स(श)तं समधिकं श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतिः ।
रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनः स हृदये ध्यायन्ज(ज्ज)पन्[82] जाह्नवी -
कालिंद्योः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगान्निर्वृतिं ॥[83]—[55].
धर्म्माधिकारमनुसा(शा)सति सा(शा)स्वतोत्र मित्रे सतां स्फुरितधामनि धर्म्मवु(बु)[द्धौ] ।
श्रीमद्यशोधरपुरोधसि वेधसोव सिद्धिं जगाम जगतीपतिकीर्त्तिरेषा ॥[84]—[56].
तार्क्कारिकः प्र -
30. वरसावरवंस(श)जन्मा श्रीनंदनः कविरभूत्कविचक्रवर्त्ती ।
तस्यात्मजः समजनि श्रुतपारदृश्वा श्रीमांस्तपोधिकव(ब)लो व(ब)लभद्रनामा ॥ —[57].
सूनुः सूनृतगोर्गिरींद्रमहिमा भ[द्रस्य] तस्याभवद्भूपालैर्भुवि पूजितांङ्घ्रिरनघः साहित्यरत्नाकरः ।
श्रीरामो रमणीयशू(सू)क्तिरचनाचातुर्यधुर्यः कृती तेनेयं विहिता प्रशस्तिर[चना]
31. भ[क्त्या]लये शलिनः ॥[85]—[58].
न संकीर्णा वर्णाः क्वचिदिह न सापत्न्यकलुषाः स्थिताः कायस्थेन प्रथितकुलशीलोज्व(ज्ज्व)लधिया ।
यशःपालेनायं विदितपदविद्येन लिखितः प्रशस्तेर्विन्याश(स)ः कृतयुगसमाचारश(स)दृशः ॥[86]— [59].
विज्ञानविश्वकर्त्ता धर्म्माधारेण सूत्रधारेण ।
च्छि(छि)च्छा[भि]धेन विदधे प्राशा(सा)दः[87] प्रमथनाथस्य ॥[88]—[60].
यावत्पृथ्वी स -
32. पृथ्वीधरनगरनगा दत्तमुद्रा समुद्रै -
र्यावद्भ्राजिष्णुरुष्णद्युतिरयममृतस्यंदनः शीतरश्मि(श्मि)ः ।

[77] Metre, Âryâ; and of the next verse.

[78] In the original, this *akshara* looks more like ध.

[79] Originally ०रताः रताः.

[80] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The six occupations of Brâhmans are अध्ययन, अध्यापन, यजन, याजन, दान and प्रतिग्रह, *i.e.* study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting them for others, giving and accepting gifts. The palaces, high like the peaks of the Kailâsa, which the king erected for certain holy Brâhmans, are the same buildings which elsewhere are called *brahmapurî;* see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 44, note 130.

[81] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).—North of the Himâlaya is the country of eternal beatitude; *here* the Brâhmans selected by the king had found *south* of the Himâlaya a place where all their wishes were fulfilled.

[82] Read ०पञ्जाह्नवी०.

[83] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[84] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next verse.

[85] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[86] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[87] Originally प्रशादः.

[88] Metre, Âryâ.

यावद्ब्र(ह्म)ह्मांडभांडस्थितिरियमथवा स्थास्नुतां स्थाणवीयः
प्राशा(सा)दस्तावदेष व्रजतु नरपतेर्द्दत्तकैलासहासः ॥[89]—[61].
लिपि[ह्ना]नवि[धि×]ज्ञेन प्राज्ञेन गुणसा(शा)लिना ।
सिंहेनेयं समुत्कीर्णा सद्वर्णा रूपसा(शा)लि[नी][90] ॥[91]—[62].
संवत(त्) १०५९[92] श्रीखर्ज्जू -

33. रवा[ह]के[93]राजश्री[धं][94]गदेवराज्ये देवश्रीमरकतेश्वरस्य प्रस(श)स्तिः सिद्धा ॥
उत्खातोच्चमहीभृतो मसृणिता मत्तद्विपतां[95] पदै -
र्द्दौताः संगरसंगभं[गु]ररिपुत्रस्त्रियाश्रूत्करैः ।
दिग्भित्तीर्ज्जयवर्म्मदेवनृपतिः कीर्त्त्यक्षरैर्लिख -
त्तेनालेखि पुनः प्रशस्तिरमलैरेषाक्षरैः क्ष्माभुजा ॥[96]—[63].
विद्वद्भिर्ज्जयपालसो(शी) -

34. तकिरणीमून्यादराद्वंदितो
गौडः प्रोल्लिखदक्षराणि[97] कुमुदाकाराणि सर्प्पत्करः ।
कायस्थो जयवर्म्मदेवनृपतेरीशस्य वि(बि)[भ्र]त्कलाः
साहित्यांबु(बु)धिवं(बं)धुरुद्धततमो रुन्धन्नविंद्यद्युतिः[98] ॥ —[64].
संवत् ११७३ वैसा(शा)ख शुदि ३ शुक्रे ॥

V.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKKALA, OF THE YEAR 1058.

The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found about fifty years ago at the temple of Vaidyanâtha, at Khajurâho; and is now built into the side wall of the entrance porch of the temple of Viśvanâtha at the same place. The inscription has been mentioned several times in the volumes of the Archæological Survey of India, and a photo-lithograph of it, which, though useless for editing, shows well the style

[89] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[90] This *akshara* might be read ना or ता.

[91] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[92] This figure is quite distinct, and it is neither 1019 nor 1056.

[93] In the two impressions supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, the two *aksharas* वा and के are quite distinct, and the consonant of the *akshara* standing between the two is ह; but this ह appears to have been preceded by the sign for *e* (not *i*) which, so far as I can make out, has been struck out again.

[94] This *akshara* can only be read धं or वं, and the following *akshara* is quite clearly ग.

[95] Read ०द्विपानां.

[96] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse. 'The prince Jayavarmadeva who with the letters of his fame inscribed the walls of the regions, the mountain-like great princes of which had been uprooted (*by him, and which had been*) smoothed by the steps of (*his*) furious elephants, (*and*) washed with the streams of the tears of the trembling wives of (*his*) enemies, perishing when they met (*him*) in battle,—this prince has written again this eulogy with clear letters';—*i.e.*, the prince Jayavarmadeva caused the inscription, which may be supposed to have become damaged or illegible, to be re-engraved.

[97] प्रोल्लिखत् wrongly for प्रोद्लिखत्.

[98] In Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 68, it is stated that the inscription had originally been written in irregular (*kîrṇa*) letters, and that it was re-written in letters of the *kumuda* form, or in 'lotus-like or beautiful characters.' My text and translation of the preceding verse show that the inscription does not contain the word *kîrṇa* at all; nor does the present verse say anything about *kumuda* characters. For the verse simply says, that Jayapâla, the Gauḍa, the Kâyastha of the ruling prince Jayavarmadeva, honoured by the learned, acquainted with the various arts, and familiar with poetry, &c., with his hands moving forward wrote these letters, as the moon, resting on the body of Śiva, containing digits, and the friend of the ocean, &c., with her spreading rays, touches the lotus-flowers.

of the letters and the general state of preservation of this record, is given by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xix.[1]

The inscription consists of 22 lines. The writing covers a space of about 3′ 8″ broad by 2′ 2″ high. Down to line 14, it is on the whole well preserved. From line 15 to 21, on the proper right side, a large piece of the surface of the stone has gone, causing the complete loss of about 80 *aksharas;* and a few *aksharas* have gone in other places, as will appear from my transcript of the text. The size of the letters is from ¾″ to ⅞″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskṛit, and, except for the introductory *Oṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, the words *kiṁ vahunâ* in line 8, and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, *b* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *v*; the palatal sibilant has been employed for the dental sibilant in *vikaśat* and *bhâśvat*, line 1, *śaṁkalpa*, line 3, and *ajaśraṁ*, line 17; and the dental for the palatal sibilant in *sayyâ*, line 17, and *vahusrutaṁ*, line 21; the dental nasal for the lingual or palatal nasal in *jîrna*, line 8, *îdṛikshena*, line 15, and *kânchana*, line 19; *y* for *j* in *sphûryat*, line 1, and *jaṭâyûṭam*, line 5; the conjunct *jv* for *jjv* in *milajvâlâ*, line 1, and *ujvala*, lines 10 and 22. Besides, a consonant has been doubled before *y* or *r* in *proddyat*, line 1, *râjjya*, line 15, *chittra*, lines 7 and 9, *vichittra*, line 17, *pâttre*, line 16, and *yattra*, line 21. And regarding the language and style in general, I may add that the inscription is in every way inferior to the two other large Khajurâho inscriptions, and that some of its verses do not admit of a proper construction. The inscription does not record the name of the composer, nor the names of the writer and engraver.

The inscription is dated, in line 22, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika of the year 1058 (expressed by decimal figures only), which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1000-1001. And it records, in lines 19-21, the erection of a temple in honour of (Śiva) Vaidyanâtha and of a set of buildings for pious Brâhmans, by one Kokkala or Kokkalla, the younger brother of Śekkala or Sekkalla, both of whom were sons of Jayadeva, the son of Mâhaṭa, who again was the son of Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of the Grahapati family. These personages would appear to have been small chiefs or nobles dwelling at Khajurâho, and all the inscription says about them, is that Kokkala founded a town, and that Yaśobala was settled at the town of Padmâvatî.[2] Other members of the same family or clan are mentioned in the following inscriptions. So much will be clear from a perusal of this inscription that the Kokkala or Kokkalla, mentioned here, has nothing to do with Kokalla, the Chedi ruler of Tripurî.

TEXT.[1]

L. 1. ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ [2]स्फूर्य(र्ज)त्फा(त्स्फा)रफणाकलापविकश(स)द्भीमस्फटाभासुरं ।[3] भाश्व(स्व) - त्तारतरात्ति(ति)रेकविलसच्चन्द्रार्द्धचि(चि)ह्नीकृतं । प्रोद्यल्लोलविलोचनानलमिलज्वा(ज्ज्वा)लावलीपिङ्गलं । वन्दे मुंद -

[1] I have for some time been in possession of several rubbings of this inscription, prepared by or for Sir A. Cunningham, which were made over to me by Mr. Fleet: I now edit it from an excellent impression taken by Dr. Burgess.

[2] The town of Padmâvatî, which is the scene of Bhavabhûti's *Mâlatîmâdhava*, is identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern Narvâr; see his *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 307; and Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's edition of the *Mâlatîmâdhava*, notes, p. 5.

[1] From the impressions taken by Dr. Burgess.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the two next verses.

[3] The sign of punctuation is superfluous, here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately.

2. रवैद्यनाथविधृतं वन्द्य(न्द्यं) जटामण्डलं ॥ यस्य प्रेतवनं[4] निवासभवनं ॥ भूतैः प्रभुत्वं भृशं । भूतिर्भूषणम-
ङ्गरागरचना प्रीतिर्युगान्त(न्तं) प्रति ॥(।)कण्ठे तिष्ठति कालकूटमशिवोप्येवं शिवः
3. त्वस्थितं[5] । सर्वध्या(व्या)वि(धि)हरश्चराचरधरः पायात्स वः शङ्करः ॥ यं वेदान्तविदो वदन्ति मनस [:×]
शं(सं)कल्पभूतं शिवं । व्र(ब्र)ह्मैकं परमक्षरं तमजरं तं(?) चामरं तद्विदः । अन्ये तत्सिवमेव[6] बु(बु)द्धममलं त्व -
4. न्ये जिनं वामनं ॥ तस्मै सर्व्वमयैक्यकारणपतेः(?) स(श)[7]र्व्वाय नित्यं नमः ॥ [8]माहेन्द्रीपेन्दरौद्रज्वरवि-
षममहादुष्टकष्टाभिभूताः । भूतैः प्रत्यग्रभूतैः प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्यातुधानैर्ग्रहो -
5. ताः । घृष्टांगुष्ठप्रकोष्ठप्रकटितपटिमाटा(टो)पकुष्ठप्रदुष्टा । दृष्ट्वा नश्यन्त्यनिष्टा[:×] [9] स्फुटविकटज-
टायू(जू)टमेते त्वदीयं ॥ [10]आसीदप्रतिमा विमानभवनैराभूषिता भूतले लोकानामधिपेन भू -
6. मिपतिना पद्मोत्थवंशेन या ॥(।)केनापीह निव(वे)शिता कृतयुगत्रेतान्तरे श्रूयते सत्का(च्छा)स्त्रे पठि-
ता पुरा[ण×]पटुभिः पद्मावती प्रोच्यते ॥ सौधोत्तुङ्गपतङ्गलंघनपथप्रोत्तुङ्गमालाकुला शुभ्रा -
7. भ्रंकषपाण्डुरोच्चशिखरप्राकारचित्राम्ब(म्ब)रा ॥(।) प्रालेयाम(च)लशृंगसंन्नि(नि)भशुभप्रासादसद्भाव-
ती भव्यापूर्वमभूदपूर्वरचना या नाम पद्मावती ॥ त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गमोद्गमत्तु(खु)रच्चोदाद्रजः प्रो -
8. [द्व]तं यस्यां जीर्न(र्ण)कठोरवभ्रु(स्त्र?)मकरोत्कूर्मोदराभं नभः ॥(।) मत्तानेककरालकुंभिकरटप्रोत्कृष्टव-
ध्या[द्व]त[यु]क्तं कर्दममुद्रया क्षितितलं तां व्रू(ब्रू)त किं संस्तुमः ॥ किं [व(ब)द्व]ना । तस्यां[11] ग्रहपतिवंशस्तं-
व(ब)क -
9. — — [12]प्यदूषितो जातः [।×] कोटिगुणोन्नतनमितः प्रथितोतियशोव(ब)लः श्रीमां(मा)न् ॥ [13] यश्चाभव-
न्निजभुजार्जितचित्रकीर्तिरुत्तंभिता[म्र]कुलमूलतरुप्रकाण्डः[।×] भ्रूभंगकामुककटाक्षशराभिघातमा[त्त]प्र-
10. — ◡ परिपातितशत्रुदण्डः ॥ यः शुभ्रविभ्रमशशाङ्करप्रतानकान्त्युज्व(ज्ज्व)लोत्पलजलप्रव(ब)लांस्तड-
गान् ॥(।)देवालयानपि हिम(मा)चले(ल)शृङ्गतुङ्गांश्चक्रे श[तक्र]तुकृती स यशोव(ब)लाख्य -
11. [: ॥ तस्म]ादभूदभिमताखिलव(ब)न्धुवर्गो दुर्गतृ(त्रि)वर्ग(र्ग)फलनिर्मललब्ध(ब्ध)सौख्यः ॥(।)सत्कीर्त्ति-
कीर्त्तनक[था]परिगद्यमान[माहात्म्य]मोदितजनः किल [मा]हटा[ख्य]: ॥ तस्यात्मजः[14] स्वजनसर्वजनात्क-
12. — ◡ शङ्कापमानपरिमार्जनसज्जकार्यः ॥(।) [15]मर्यादमुद्धृतगभीरिम[या]ब्धि(ब्धि)तुल्यै — ◡ — ◡ —
[र्गु]रुगभीर ◡ — ◡ [रा]शिः श्रीमानभूत्सुकृतकृज्जयदे[वना]मा ॥ कान्त्या[16] शीतकरात्समो -
13. [हित×] फलावाप्तौ च कल्पद्रुमादालोको दिवसाधिपादिव ततो जज्ञे सुतः सेकलः[।×] विद्वानप्र-
तिमप्रतापतरणिः ख्यातः सतामग्रणी[:×] सत्यत्यागपराक्रमैकवसतिर्मानी धनैरन्वि[तः ॥×][17]
14. [स×]द्वीरत्वादलंघ्यः[18] प्रथितपृथुककुप्रा(प्प्रा)न्तविश्रान्तकीर्त्तिःस्त्यागे[19] कर्णोपम(मा)नः कटुकपटव-
चोभाषणे चाप्रग[ल्भ]:[।×] [स]द्यः सौजन्यजन्यप्रकटित[महिमारा]तिवर्गस्य दुर्गः श्रीमानु -
15. — ◡ [व?]र्गो ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ हित — — ◡ — [से?][20]कलोभूत् ॥ [21]उद्यद्वीरगभीरराज्यजलधेः पारे
समुत्तारि[तमीदृक्षेन(ण)?] महीभुजा निजतनुं [यं प्रा?]प्य पोतं परं । श्रीसेकलमतुल्य[कु]ल्य -

[4] Originally ०वने.

[5] These three *aksharas* and the word शिव: at the end of the preceding line are quite clear in the impressions, but they give no sense. One expects something like शिवो य: स्थित:.

[6] These *aksharas*, too, are quite distinct; I would suggest तं शिवमेव.

[7] This correction is not absolutely necessary, because the word is spelt both शर्व and सर्व; and the verse evidently contains a play on the word सर्व.

[8] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[9] This sign of *visarga* is not absolutely necessary.

[10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita, and of the two next verses.

[11] Metre, Âryâ.

[12] This *akshara* looks like प्ये.

[13] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next three verses.

[14] This verse contains five Pâdas instead of four.

[15] The *aksharas* actually given here are quite clear, but I am unable to make out any connected sense.

[16] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] The *aksharas* within these brackets are entirely gone.

[18] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[19] Read ०कीर्त्तिस्त्यागे.

[20] Of this *akshara* only the upper portion is visible.

[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

16. ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ रुचिरं किं तत्र वस्तु स्तुमः ॥[22] त-
स्यानुजोपि [सौ]दर्यमर्या[दी]दार्यकार्यवान् । यौवनेप्यार्यचरितः श्रीकोक्कलेति विश्रुतः ।(॥) यः[23] सत्याचे ददा-
17. — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — — — नमन्नं वरवसनशतान्यश्वस(श)-
य्यासनानि । च्छ(छ)त्रोपानद्विचित्रासनभवनमहाधान्यदानान्यजस्रं(स्रं) स श्रीमान्कोक्कला[ख्यो]भवदिह
कुमरः[24] की -
18. ◡ — [न्य]र्मकर्मा ॥ प्रशस्तसम[25] — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ तं महार्हगुरुतोरणं शिखरिशृङ्ग-
तुङ्गालयं । विचित्रमतिभूषणोच्छ्रितलसन्महागोपुरं पुरन्दरपुरप्रभं पुरमचीकरत्कोक्कलः ॥ तं[26] -
19. नायं तुहिनाचलामलमहाकूटाग्र[का?] — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ध्वि(ध्वि)गहनोत्तारा-
र्थिना कारितः । यस्यात्युच्छ्रितकान्त(न्त)नाण्डकलस[म्भा]र्त्तण्डचण्डप्रभासंपर्कादभवद्वितानममलं श्रीवैद्यना-
थप्र -
20. भो[ः॥×] [य]स्य[27] द्वा[रे]तिवस्तुप्रततमिव दिवो द्वारसुग्रा — ◡ — — — — ◡ — [क्तं] गगन इव
समुड्डीय ग[च्छ]द्वि[भाति] । य[न्म]न्ये वैद्यनाथो यदभिनवभवद्रामसंस्थापितोतस्तस्यार्थे पुष्पकं तत्प्रहित-
मिव
21. ◡ — स्तोरणीभूय भाति ॥ यत्र[28] वेदविदुषां द्विजन्मनां सार्ग — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — क्रमं । षट्कर्मसु
रतं व(ब)हुसु(शु)तं तेन वृन्दमनघं निवेशितं ॥ [29]उद्दामात्मविवेकसेकजनितश्रेयोलसत्पल्लवा शश्व -
22. — ◡ ◡ पोषितद्विजगणा सद्वृत्तपुष्पोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ला । यस्येलाविपुलालवालवलयात्सत्कीर्त्तिवल्ली मही
[भृ]द्दण्डानधिरुह्य मण्डपमिव व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमारोहति ॥ संवत् १०५८ कार्त्तिक्यां श्रीकोक्कलेन[॥×]

Translation.

Om!

Adoration to Śiva!

(Line 1.) I adore the adorable coil of matted hair carried by the beautiful Vaidyanâtha, (*which is*) irradiated by the expanding terrible hoods of a multitude of hissing broad serpents;[30] marked with the half-moon which is excessively shining, more brilliantly than the sun; (*and*) yellowish, when in contact with the line of flames of the fire issuing forth from his tremulous eye.

(2.) May that Śaṁkara who takes away all disease (*and*) supports the movable and immovable, protect you!—he, whose dwelling-place is the cemetery, who holds mighty sway over goblins, who applies ashes to his body to decorate it, who delights in the destruction of the world, (*and*) on whose neck there is a deadly poison,—(*but*) who, although thus inauspicious, remains the auspicious (Śiva)!

(3.) Adoration be always to that Śarva, who causes all (*gods*) to be comprehended in (*his*) one (*person*)!—he, whom those acquainted with the end of the Veda call Śiva, the desire of the mind, while people of true knowledge call him the one supreme

[22] Metre Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[23] Metre, Śragdharâ.

[24] This word, which is quite clear in the original, appears to be used for कुमारः.

[25] Metre, Pṛithvî.

[26] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[27] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[28] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.

[29] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[30] The original has फणा 'the hood of a serpent,' but one expects a word meaning 'a serpent;' compare, *e.g.* line 1 of the grant of Vâkpatirâja, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 160.

Brahman, the indestructible, ageless, immortal, others the verily auspicious Buddha, (*and*) others again the spotless Vâmana, the triumphant (Jina) !

(4.) People overcome with severe distress (*brought about*) by violent fever (*sent*) by the great Indra (?) or by Vishṇu, (*and*) those seized again and again by goblins and by evil spirits that show themselves day by day, (*and*) those afflicted with leprosy, which displays its fierce might by sore thumbs and fore-arms,—(*all*) these are freed from evil when they set eyes on thy clearly shown uncouth twisted tresses of hair.

(5.) There was on the surface of the earth a matchless (*town*), decorated with lofty palaces, which is recorded to have been founded here between the golden and silver ages by some ruler of the earth, a lord of the people, who was of Brahman's race, (*a town which is*) read of in histories (?) (*and*) called Padmâvatî by people versed in the Purâṇas.

(6.) This most excellent (*town*) named Padmâvatî, built in an unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall horses were curvetting: with its shining white high-topped walls, which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky; (*and*) it was full of bright palatial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the snowy mountain.

(7.) Tell us, need we praise that (*town*) in which the dust raised up by the pounding of the hoofs of galloping tall horses made the sky, covered (*as it were*) with an old worn-out cloth, look like the belly of a tortoise, while the ground in a wonderful manner was furnished with a coating of mud by the rain emitted from the cheeks of many infuriated formidable elephants? What need we say more?

(8.) In that (*town*) there was born . . . . . of (?) the Grahapati family . . . . . undefiled, the famous illustrious Atiyaśobala, bowed down to by people who excelled by first-rate qualities; who by his own arm acquired wondrous fame; supported, like excellent trees, the families of friends and dependants; (*and*) threw down the forces of enemies . . . . . by striking with arrows which were the glances fond of his knitted brows(?).

He who built tanks full of water, in which the lotuses shone with the loveliness of the spreading rays of the bright-lustred moon, and temples high like the peaks of the Himâlaya, he, successful like Indra, was called Yaśobala.

(11.) From him was born (*a son*) named Mâhaṭa, who honoured the whole body of relatives, who, by (*attaining*) the difficult-to-be-obtained fruit of the three objects of life,[31] in a blameless manner secured for himself happiness, (*and*) who indeed delighted the people by his high-mindedness which was proclaimed by tales in praise of his good fame.

(12.) His son was the illustrious Jayadeva, a performer of good deeds, whose actions were able to remove . . . . fear and dishonour from his own and from all people . . . . . (?).

(13.) From him, who by his loveliness was the moon, and, as regards the attainment of the objects of men's desires, a tree of paradise, there was born, as the light proceeds from the lord of the day, a son (*named*) Sekkala, who was learned, a sun of unparalleled majesty, famous, foremost among the good, the sole habitation of truth, liberality, and bravery, self-confident, (*and*) endowed with wealth.

[31] *i.e.*, religion, wealth, and pleasure.

On account of his manliness not to be insulted, endowed with fame which spread to the ends of the broad regions, in munificence like Karṇa, and not conversant with hurtful or deceitful speech, the illustrious Sekkala at once showed his greatness both by his benevolence and in battle, was difficult of approach for the host of enemies, and . . . . . (?).

[The next verse also refers to Sekkala (whose name is spelt here Sekkalla), who appears to be described as a boat for crossing the ocean of royal government. But the verse is incomplete, and I am unable to derive from the words actually remaining any connected meaning.]

(16.) His younger brother, too, endowed with beauty, propriety of conduct, generosity, and activity, and already in youth of noble conduct, is famous as the illustrious Kokkalla.

He who on worthy recipients incessantly bestowed . . . . . food, hundreds of excellent dresses, horses, couches, and seats, dwelling-places accompanied by umbrellas and shoes, and great donations of grain, that was here the illustrious Kokkala, a youth (?) . . . . . engaged in works of piety.

Kokkala caused to be built a wonderful town which, ... furnished with big archways of great value, (*and*) with dwellings high like mountain-peaks, (*and*) with highly decorated lofty shining great gates, resembled the city of Indra.

(19.) Desirous of crossing the deep ocean . . . . . , he caused to be erected this (*temple, high like ?*) the spotless great peaks of the mountain of snow, the lofty golden dome of which, because it is in contact with the fierce splendour of the sun, became a spotless canopy for the glorious lord Vaidyanâtha.

[The next verse, which is incomplete, appears to describe certain buildings close to the temple, which Kokkala erected for pious Brâhmans].

Here he settled a faultless very learned crowd of twice-born who knew the Vedas . . . . . (*and*) delighted in the six duties (*enjoined on Brâhmans*).

(21.) The creeper of his good fame, the sprouts of which are shining with prosperity produced by the sprinkling of his boundless discernment, (*and*) . . . . . which nourishes (like groups of birds) crowds of twice-born, (*and*) is beautified, as by flowers, by good conduct, rising above the lines of princes (as above mountains), ascends from the wide round basin of the earth up into the universe, as if it were an arbour.

The year 1058, on the full-moon day of Kârttika. By the illustrious Kokkala.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM IMAGES IN THE JAINA TEMPLES.

VI.

This incomplete inscription is in a single line, $5\frac{1}{4}''$ long. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{8}''$. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit. The inscription contains merely the words: "The *Śreshṭhin*, the illustrious Pâṇidhara, in the Grahapati family."

The Grahapati-family, mentioned here and in the two following inscriptions, is also mentioned in line 8 of the preceding inscription of Kokkala, No. V.

TEXT.

[1] [ग्र×]हपत्यन्वये श्रेष्ठिश्रीपाणिधर [॥×]

VII.

This is another inscription in a single line, 2′ long. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}''$. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit. The inscription contains the words: "Om! In the Grahapati family, the *Śreshṭhin* Pâṇidhara; his sons, the *Śreshṭhin* Trivikrama, and Âlhaṇa, (*and*) Lakshmîdhara;" and the date "the year 1205 (which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1147-48), the 5th day of the dark half of (the month) Mâgha."

TEXT.

श्री[2] ॥ ग्रहपत्यन्वये श्रेष्ठिपाणिधरस्तस्य सुत श्रेष्ठिति(त्रि)विक्रम तथा आल्हण । लक्ष्मीधर ॥ संवत् १२०५ । माघ वदि ५ ॥

VIII.

This inscription[3] is on the base of a Jaina image and is in a single line, divided into two parts by a boss: the first part is 1′ $7\frac{1}{4}''$ and the second 1′ $5\frac{1}{2}''$ long. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}''$. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit.

The inscription is dated in the year 1215 (which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1157-58), on the 5th day of the bright half of (the month) Mâgha, in the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious Madanavarmadeva. And it records that the statue on which the inscription is, was caused to be set up by the *Sâdhu* Sâlhe, the son of Pâhilla, who was the son of the *Śreshṭhin* Dedû, of the Grahapati family; and adds that the sons of Sâlhe, Mahâgaṇa, Mahîchandra, Sirichandra, Jinachandra, Udayachandra, and the rest, always bow down to Sambhavanâtha. The name of the artizan was Râmadeva. The name Pâhilla we have met before, in inscription No. III.

TEXT.

श्री[4] ॥ संवत् १२१५ माघ सुदि ५ श्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये ॥ ग्रहपतिवंसे(शे) श्रेष्ठिदेदू तत्पुत्रपाहिल्लः । पाहिल्लांगरुहसाधुसाल्हे [ते]नेदं(यं) प्रतिमा कारितेति ॥ ॥ तत्पुत्राः महागण । महीचंद्र । सि[रि]चंद्र । जिनचंद्र । उदयचंद्रप्रभृति[5] । संभवनाथं प्रणंमति[6] नित्यं ॥ मंग[लं] महाश्री [:×] ॥ रूपकाररामदेव[:×] ॥

[1] This *akshara*, and whatever may have preceded it, is broken away.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] This inscription has been published by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, p. 61, and I now re-edit it from an impression taken by Dr. Burgess.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] One expects ०प्रभृतयः.

[6] Read प्रणमंति.

XX.—THE TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VAÏLLABHATTASVAMIN TEMPLE AT GWALIOR.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Bangalore.

The two subjoined inscriptions[1] are engraved on a small monolithic temple, which is situated on a turn of the road leading up to the Gwalior Fort. The temple was described by General Cunningham, according to whom it is now called the Chaturbhuja Temple.[2] The first inscription, which is engraved over the front door of the temple, seems to have hitherto remained unnoticed. A rough transcript and translation of the second inscription, which is found inside the temple on the left wall,[3] was published by Dr. Râjendralâla Mitra.[4] My transcripts of the two inscriptions were made from mechanical copies taken during a visit to Gwalior in 1885.

The first inscription consists of 27 Sanskrit verses and must have been composed by an ingenious paṇḍit, who was well versed in *alaṁkâra*. His extravagant hyperboles will appear startling and amusing even to one accustomed to the usual *kâvya* style. We learn from the inscription that the Vishṇu temple containing it was built by a certain Alla, the son of Vâïllabhaṭṭa and grandson of Nâgarabhaṭṭa, and that it was consecrated in the year 932 (*in words*). Nâgarabhaṭṭa belonged to the Varjâra family and had immigrated from Ânandapura in Lâṭamaṇḍala, *i.e.* Vaḍnagar in Gujarât. Vâïllabhaṭṭa had been chief of the boundaries (*maryâdâ-dhurya*) or margrave in the service of (*king*) Râmadeva (verse 7). Alla succeeded his father in office (v. 11), and was appointed to the guardianship of Gopâdri, *i.e.* of the Gwalior Fort, by (*king*) Śrîmad-Âdivarâha (v. 22).

The second inscription is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and dated in the year 933 (in words and figures), at Śrî-Gopagiri (*i.e.* the Gwalior Fort) and during the reign of the *parameśvara* Bhojadeva. Alla is here directly called the guardian of the fort (*koṭṭapâla*) of Gopagiri. The inscription records four donations to two temples, which had been built by Alla, the son of Vâïllabhaṭṭa. The donee of the first grant was the Navadurgâ Temple situated beyond the Vṛiśchikâlâ river; this is probably another name of the river Subanrikh[5] (*Suvarṇarekhâ* ?) at Gwalior. The two donees of the three remaining grants were the same Navadurgâ Temple and "the Vishṇu temple called Vâïllabhaṭṭa-svâmin, which Alla had likewise caused to be built on the descent of the road of the illustrious Bhojadeva." By this we have to understand the temple, at which both inscriptions are found. It had evidently received its name in commemoration of Vâïllabhaṭṭa, the father of its founder. The four donations were made by the inhabitants of "the place" (*sthâna*), *i.e.* the ancient town of Gwalior, which lies on the eastern side of the fort. They consisted of a piece of land for a flower-garden, two fields, a monthly supply of lamp-oil to be made by the guild of oil-millers, and a monthly supply of flower-garlands to be made by the guild of the gardeners,

[1] This paper is a revised version of one which I published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* vol. XL, p. 26.

[2] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 355.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 335.

[4] *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 407.

[5] Cunningham's *Archæol. Sur. of India*, vol. II, p. 332.

who dwelt on the top of the Gwalior Fort (*Śrî-Gopagiri-talopari*). The inscription mentions several other localities, which I am unable to identify, *viz.* Chûḍâpallikâ, Jayapurâka, Śrî-Sarveśvarapura, Śrîvatsasvâmipura, Chachchikâhaṭṭikâ and Nimbâdityahaṭṭikâ. It deserves to be noted, that at the time of the inscription the measure of length was "royal yards" (*pârameśvarîya-hasta*) and that of capacity "*droṇas* according to the measure of Gwalior" (*Gopagirîya-mâpyena*).

The first inscription mentions two kings, *viz.* Râmadeva, the contemporary of Vâillabhaṭṭa, and Śrîmad-Âdivarâha, the contemporary of Alla. At the time of the second inscription the ruler of Gwalior was the *parameśvara* Bhojadeva. Another inscription of a *parameśvara* Bhojadeva was discovered by General Cunningham at Deogarh.[6] Its date, Saṁvat 919 and Śaka 784, led General Cunningham to suppose that the date of the second Gwalior inscription, Saṁvat 933, has to be referred to the Vikrama era. Referring the date of an inscription at Peheva, Saṁvat 276, to the era of Śrîharsha, General Cunningham further identified the *parameśvara* Bhojadeva of the Deogarh inscription and of the second Gwalior inscription with the *parameśvara* Bhojadeva, the son of the *parameśvara* Râmabhadradeva.[7] This supposition is corroborated by the first Gwalior inscription, as the Râmadeva, whom it mentions as a contemporary of Vâillabhaṭṭa, seems to be identical with the Râmabhadradeva of the Peheva inscription. Śrîmad-Âdivarâha in the first Gwalior inscription I take to be a *biruda* of Bhojadeva himself. Thus we have the following names and dates:—

1. *Parameśvara* Râmabhadradeva (Peheva inscription) or Râmadeva (Gwalior inscription No. 1).
2. His son, *parameśvara* Bhojadeva (Deogarh, Gwalior No. 2, and Peheva) or Śrîmad-Âdivarâha (Gwalior No. 1). Dates: A.D. 862 (Deogarh), 875 (Gwalior No. 1), 876 (Gwalior No. 2), and 882 (Peheva).

As lately shown by Mr. Fleet, the *mahârâja* Bhojadeva, son of the *mahârâja* Râmabhadradeva, who is mentioned in two copper-plate grants from Mahodaya, is distinct from the above-mentioned *parameśvara* Bhojadeva.[8] Another identification of General Cunningham's is also uncertain, as Kalhaṇa's *Râjataraṁgiṇî* (V. 151) does not seem to mention a king Bhoja, but a king of the Bhojas (*Bhojâdhirâja*), as a contemporary of Śaṁkaravarman of Kaśmîr.[9]

[6] *Ibid.* vol. X, p. 101.

[7] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXIII, p. 229; Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 224; vol. IX, pp. 84 and 102. The inscription reads: *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrî-Râmabhadradeva-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrî-Bhojadeva-pâdânâm abhipravarddhamâna-kalyâṇa-vijaya-râjye samvatsara-śatadvaye shaṭsaptatyadhike vaiśâkhamâsa-śuklapaksha-saptamyâṁ samvat* 276 *vaiśâkha śudi* 7. The apparent breaks in the facsimile (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXII) arise from the overlapping parts not having been properly pasted together.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XV, p. 110. From Professor Kielhorn's introduction to the Sîyaḍoṇi inscription (*infra*) it appears that the *parameśvara* Bhojadeva of the Deogarh, Gwalior, and Peheva inscriptions was a king of Mahodaya or Kanyakubjâ the Qannauj (قنوج) of Firdausî, and the modern Kanauj; and that his successor, the *parameśvara* Mahendrapâladeva was ruling in A.D. 903. Among the coins which are mentioned in the Sîyaḍoṇi inscription, is the *Śrîmad-Âdivarâha-dramma*. This coin was evidently named after Śrîmad-Âdivarâha, the *biruda* of Bhojadeva. General Cunningham, in *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 329, identifies it with a base silver coin, which bears on the obverse a representation of the boar incarnation and on the reverse the legend *Śrîmad-Âdivarâha*. The coin is engraved in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, pl. liii, No. mccxix. It is frequently met with in Northern India:—Conf. Cunningham's *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. VI, p. 137, and *loc. cit.*

[9] The reading adopted by Mr. Fleet, भत्वीभूते थक्कियकान्वये, is confirmed by my Kaśmîr MS. The Deccan College MS. reads: भ - भूते थक्किकयान्वये.

First Inscription.

Text.

(L. 1.) श्रीं [॥×] कालिन्द्याः किं जलौघो घनतिमिरनिभो जाह्नवीस्वर्द्वया नः प्रोद्यातः किन्न[10] भूयो गगनतलगतिं विन्ध्यसानुर्व्विहन्तुं । चिक्रंसोर्यस्य दृष्ट्वा चरणमति[11] चिरं सप्तयो नैव पूर्णो जग्मुः क्षोभादिवोच्चै-र्व्वभसि स मधुजिद्धन्तु वः कल्मषाणि ॥ [१×] अतिललितलाटमण्डलतिलकानन्दपुरनिर्म्मतो गुणवान् । वर्ज्जारान्वयनागरभट्टकुमारोभवद्येन ॥ [२×] वाङ्गभट्टनामा तनयोजनि जनितजनचमत्कारो[12] । न युधिष्ठिरोप्यकार्षीद्यः सह नकुलेन सप्रीतिं ॥ [३×]

(2.) परिभाषादि[13]ज्ञानं वैयाकरणस्य यस्य परमासीत् । कर्म्मोपधाविकारी न कदाचिद्वाचकौ[14] भूतौ ॥ [४×] सुशुभ्रतां व्याप्तदिगन्तरत्वमासाद्य दुग्धाब्धिरगाधताञ्च । जिगं[15]सयोर्ध्वञ्च यशःपयोधिमाह्वास्त यस्यातितरां तरङ्गैः ॥ [५×] धनदोपि न प्रमत्तो ध्वस्तसमस्तसविषोपि न विरूपः । रत्नाकरोपि न जडो यो नाशोकोपि रागिष्ठः । [६×] श्रीरामदेवकार्ये मर्यादाधुर्यतामलङ्घयता । येन विशुद्धं युद्धे निजकुलवत्प्रकटितं नाम ॥ [७×] किम्बहुना यस्य गुणाः कथयितुमपि नैव यान्ति माद्दशैः ।

(3.) मानाधिकमम्बु यतो घटकोव्वावपि न गृह्णाति[16] ॥ [८×] लक्ष्मीं सुरारिर्व्वगजाञ्च शम्भुः शचीं यथेन्द्रोथ तथा सुशीलां । कुलोद्गतां कासरकीयविष्णोस्सुतां स कान्तां समवाप जज्ञां ॥ [९×] व्यपगतमद-मोहजालसङ्गः कृतचरितैकरतः प्रसन्नमूर्त्तिः । परिहृतखलसङ्गमः सुतोत्तः सकलकलाकुशलो वभूव ताभ्यां ॥ [१०×] न पितुर्धुरोधिकारी पुत्रोभूत्क्वचिदप्यमून्शब्दान्[17] । श्रोतुमशक्तोनोहे धूस्तेन न विषयलुब्धेन ॥ [११×] दुग्धाब्धेरिव मूर्त्तिर्यस्य सदा दानवारिपरिपूता । कमलालिङ्गितवपुषः प्रजापतेरिव तनुर्यस्य ॥ [१२×]

(4.) हर इव हृषविहिताख्यो दोषासङ्गं न भानुरिव मेने । मधुरिपुरिव यस्संततमाक्रान्तविपक्ष-सङ्घातः ॥ [१३×] यस्य परार्थासक्ता सततं परिदृश्यते मतिर्नूनं । निर्लोभत्वं तस्य हि जातं खलु यत्तदाश्चर्यं ॥ [१४×] सन्त्यक्तपरकलत्रो धर्म्मैकरतोपि सर्व्वदावश्यं । निजवनितापरितुष्टोप्यभिलषितसुहृज्जनप्रमदः ॥ [१५×] अवलोक्य वक्त्रकमलं यस्य शशी स्वोदयेपि मलविकलं । कर्त्तुमनीशः किञ्चित्प्रतिक्षणं क्षीयतेद्यापि ॥ [१६×] अकरोद्यश्च विकल्पं व्याख्यानविधौ न दानविषयेषु ।

(5.) संग्रामस्य न योभूत्पराङ्मुखः परकलत्रस्य ॥ [१७×] स्थैर्यं वचसि न रोषे स्पृष्टो विजयैर्न्न जातु कलिकलुषैः । यस्याभवदालस्यं पापेषु न राजकार्येषु ॥ [१८×] धर्म्मार्ज्जने च लोभो न कदाचित्परधनेषु विविधेषु । यस्य त्वविवेकित्वं मित्रेषु न वुद्धिविभवेषु ॥ [१९×] दारिद्र्यं हरतार्थिनो रिपुजनाल्लक्ष्मीं मनो योषितः[18] रूपं पञ्चशरादगाधपयसो गाम्भीर्यमंभोनिधेः । चित्तं येन विचारचारुमनसामाचारमातन्वता सव्व-त्रैव जनापवादरहितं चौर्यं प्रकाशीकृतं ॥ [२०×]

(6.) कुर्व्वीत यदि विधाता कर्ण्णानामपि सहस्रमहिपस्य । श्रुत्वाथ तद्गुणौघान्वदनशतैः शक्नुया-द्वक्तुं ॥ [२१×] श्रीमदादिवराहेण त्रैलोक्यं विजिगीषुणा । तद्गुणान्यः परिज्ञाय कृतो गोपाद्रिपालने ॥ [२२×] कन्नुकदुहिता वव्वा येष्टतमामाप सोमटां तनयां । भट्टसुतान्या गोग्गापरा महादेवजा गौरी ॥ [२३×] गोवर्द्धनजा सिल्ला नन्नकतनयेसटा च येनोढा[ः।×] वव्वादीनां स्वस्य च पुन्यस्य[19] विवृद्धये महता ॥ [२४×] सिद्धैर्व्वर्त्म समं भवाब्धितरणे य -

[10] Read किंतु.
[11] Read चरणमिति.
[12] Read ०चमत्कारः.
[13] द is obliterated and therefore looks like व.
[14] Read ०बाधकौ ?
[15] Read गां.
[16] Read गृह्णाति.
[17] Read ०मूञ्शब्दान्.
[18] Read योषितो.
[19] Read पुण्यस्य.

(7.) दानपात्रं महद्बीजं धर्म्मतरोरनन्तफलदं स्थानं श्रियः साश्वतं[20] । टङ्कोत्कीर्णयशोनिधानमिव यन्नामाक्षरैरङ्कितं तेनाकारि विकारशून्यमनसा विष्णोरिदं मन्दिरं ॥ [२५×] दधति जलमगाधं सागरा यावदुच्चैर्गिरिरयमपि वोढा यावदभ्रंकषस्य । शिरसि शिखरराशेः श्रेयसी श्राधारूपा स्थगयतु भुवि कीर्त्ती रोदसी तावदेषा ॥ [२६×] ॥ नवसु शतेष्वब्दानां द्वाचिंन्श[21]त्संयुतेषु वैशाखे । रम्येस्मिन्नेकशिले विष्णुर्भक्त्या प्रतिष्ठितो भवने ॥ [२७×] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) May that Vishṇu destroy your sins, having seen whose foot, when he was going to stride (*the three worlds*), the horses of the sun did not pace the lofty sky for a long time, as they seemed to be afraid, that, vying with the Gaṅgâ, the flood of the waters of the Yamunâ, which resembles dense darkness, or that the ridge of the Vindhya (*mountain*) had risen again, in order to obstruct their path in the heavenly sphere!

(Vv. 2 & 3.) There was a virtuous youth, Nâgarabhaṭṭa of the Varjâra family, who had come from Ânandapura, the ornament of the lovely Lâṭamaṇḍala. He begat a son, Vâïllabhaṭṭa by name, who excited the admiration of the people, as he was constant in battle (*yudhishṭhira*), but did not conclude a true friendship with low people (*nakula*), (*while Yudhishṭhira was a true friend of his younger brother Nakula*).

(4.) As a grammarian he possessed an intimate knowledge of the explanatory rules, *&c.*; but the results of deeds in former births (*karman*) or of tricks (*upadhâ*) never gave him trouble.[22]

(5.) The milk-ocean, which has a deep-white colour, which fills all quarters and which is unfathomable, loudly challenged with its waves the high sea of his fame, trying (*in vain*) to equal (*its height*).

(6.) He was liberal (*or Kuvera*), but not inattentive (*or not Varuṇa*);[23] a destroyer of all snakes (*or Garuḍa*), but not ugly (*or bird-shaped*); a mine of jewels (*or the ocean*), but not stupid (*or cold*); and without sorrow (*or an aśoka tree*), but not impassioned (*or red*).

(7.) While, in the service of the illustrious Râmadeva, he never transgressed his duty of chief of the boundaries, he, like his ancestors, proclaimed his spotless name in battles (*for which he had to transgress the boundaries of the realm*).

(8.) Why say more? His virtues cannot even be told by people like myself; for even from the ocean a pot cannot receive more water than its measure.

(9.) As Vishṇu (*took*) Lakshmî, as Śiva (*took*) the mountain-daughter and as Indra (*took*) Śachî, thus he took for his wife the virtuous and noble Jajjâ, the daughter of Kâsarakîya-Vishṇu.

(10.) These two had a son (*called*) Alla, to whom the net of conceit and delusion had ceased to be attached, whose only aim was, that his deeds might be (*worthy of*)

[20] Read शाश्वतम्.

[21] Read द्वाचिंश०.

[22] *Pakshe*, the two words *karman* and *upadhâ* have to be taken in their grammatical meaning, "passive voice" and "penultimate letter." I do not know to which *paribhâshâ* the author alludes.

[23] Professor Kielhorn has favoured me with the following explanation of the words *dhanadopi na pramatto*: "I would compare *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 111: *dhanadenâpi prachetasâ*. At least *na pramatta* is the same as *prachetas*, and I should almost think, that the author of the inscription remembered the quotation from *Vâsavadattâ*:—Dhanada (*Kuvera*) is not *prachetas* (Varuṇa), hence *pramatta*; Vâïllabhaṭṭa is not *pramatta*, hence *prachetas* (attentive)."

the *Krita* (age); who possessed a gracious appearance, who avoided the intercourse with the wicked and who was skilled in all arts.

(11.) He (*continued*) to bear the burden (*of his father's office*), not because he was desirous of worldly (*power*), (*but*) because he could not bear to hear it said, that a son had never been up to his father's affairs.

(12.) As the milk-ocean by the rutting-juice (*of elephants*), he was continually purified by the water (*poured out*) at donations, and as Prajâpati by the lotus (*that rose from Vishṇu's navel*), he was embraced by the goddess of prosperity.

(13.) He constantly took care of meritorious gifts, as Śiva of his bull; he avoided the touch of sin, as the sun the touch of the evening; and he stepped on the crowd of his enemies, as Vishṇu on the flapping wings of his bird (*Garuḍa*).

(14.) It is indeed wonderful that he has remained free from covetousness, although his mind is always observed to be attached to the highest truth (*or apparently: to the property of others*).

(15.) Although he avoided the wives of others, took delight only in virtue and was satisfied with his own wives, he constantly and by all means desired the pleasure (*or apparently: the wives*) of his friends.

(16.) Having perceived the lotus-face of this man, the moon is even now waning a little in every moment, because even at her rise she is unable to free (*herself*) from spots (*while he is spotless*).

(17.) He gave alternatives, when he had to furnish a commentary, but made no distinction between the recipients of his gifts, and turned away from another's wife, but not from battle.

(18.) He stuck to his word, but not to anger, was covered with (*the fame of*) victories, but not in the slightest with the sins of the *Kali* (age), and was slow (*when he was afraid*) to sin, but not in the affairs of the king.

(19.) He was desirous of acquiring spiritual merit, but never of another's property of any kind, and made no distinction between his friends, but knew how to judge the degree of intelligence (*of others*).

(20.) Curiously enough, he who led the conduct of those whose minds appear refined to mental observation, openly carried on robbery of all kinds, without meeting the blame of the world; for he robbed the beggar of his poverty, the enemy of his prosperity, woman of her heart, Cupid of his beauty, and the unfathomable ocean of its depth.

(21.) Even if the Creator had bestowed a thousand ears on the king of serpents, would then the latter be able to hear the floods of virtues of that man and to enumerate them with his hundreds of mouths?

(22.) Having observed his virtues, the illustrious Âdivarâha, who wished to conquer the three worlds, appointed him to the guardianship of Gopâdri.

(Vv. 23 to 25.) This great and passionless man, who had married Vayvâ, the daughter of Kanhuka and mother of (*his*) favourite daughter Somaṭâ, further Goggâ, the daughter of Bhaṭṭa, then Gaurî, the daughter of Mahâdeva, Sillâ, the daughter of Govardhana, and Îsaṭâ, the daughter of Nannaka, built, for the increase of the spiritual merit of Vayvâ, &c., and of himself, this temple of Vishṇu, which is an even path to beatitude, a great ship for crossing the ocean of existences, the seed of the tree

of spiritual merit, which bears endless fruit,[24] the permanent abode of the goddess of prosperity and, so to say, a receptacle of (*his*) fame, cut by the chisel, and marked with the syllables of (*his*) name.

(26.) As long as the oceans will contain unfathomable water and as long as this lofty mountain will bear on its head a mass of peaks, which touch the clouds, so long may this beautiful temple[25] stand on earth and cover the two worlds (*with its fame*).

(27.) In the year nine hundred and thirty-two, in Vaiśâkha, (*a statue of*) Vishṇu was reverently placed in this lovely temple, which consists of a single piece of rock.

Second Inscription.

Text.

(L. 1.) ओं नमो विष्णवे ॥ सम्वत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयस्त्रिङ्श[1]दधिकेषु माघशुक्लद्वितीयायां सं ९३३ माघ शुदि २ अद्येह श्रीगोपगिरौ स्वामिनि

(2.) परमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवे तदधिकृत[2] कोट्टपाल अल्ले वलाधिकृत[3] तत्तके स्थानाधिकृत श्रेष्ठि-वव्वियाक(।)इच्छुवाक(।)सार्थवाहप्रमुख संव्विया -

(3.) कानां वारे । समस्तस्थानेन वाइल्लभट्टसुताल्लकारित वृश्चिकालानदीपरकूले रुद्ररुद्राणीपू-र्णाशादिनवदुर्ग्गायतना -

(4.) य स्वभुज्यमावूडा[4]पल्लिकाग्रामप्रतिवद्धभूमिखण्डं दैर्घेण पारमेश्वरीयहस्तशतद्वयं सप्तत्यधिकं हस्त २७० विस्त[5]रेण

(5.) हस्तशतमेकं सप्ताशीत्यधिकं हस्त १८७ पुष्पवाटिकार्थं पुन्येहनि[6] प्रदत्तं ।॥×] तथा ऽनेनैव स्थानेनास्मिन्नेव सम्वत्सरे

(6.) फाल्गुनवहुलपक्षप्रतिपदि श्रीभोजदेवप्रदोत्थवतारे अल्लेनैव [illegible]रितवा इल्लभट्ट[स्वाम्यभिधान-विष्णु]यतनाय तथं[illegible]

(7.) परिलिखित[illegible]र्गायतनाय च पूजासंस्कारार्थं स्वभुज्यमानजयपराजयग्रामे व्याघ्रकेण्डिकाभि-धानद्वारमूला[वापि[7]]

(8.) सङ्गडाकमुतदल्लकवाहितक्षेत्रं तथास्यैव क्षेत्रस्योत्तरतः क्षत्रियदेववर्म्मसुतमेम्माकवाहितक्षेत्रं च ययोर्गो[8]पगिरीयमा -

(9.) ध्येनावापो यवानां द्रोणा एकादश [।×] तयोर्द्वयोरपि क्षेत्रयोराघाटाः पूर्व्वेण नउडाकवा-हितक्षेत्रं दक्षिणेन पाहाटः

(10.) पश्चिमेन दल्लकवाहितक्षेत्रे पाहाटः ततो मेम्माकवाहितक्षेत्रे उत्तराभिमुखवाहकः क्षेत्रं परिवेष्ट्य गतः उत्तरेण वर्त्म

(11.) लघुपाहाटिका च [।×] एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धक्षेत्रद्वयं पुण्येहनि प्रदत्तं ॥ तथास्मिन्नेव सम्वत्सरे फाल्गुनवहुलपक्षनवम्यां

[24] The sense requires *anantaphaladam* to be taken with *dharmataroḥ*, although it is grammatically connected with *bîjam*.

[25] *Kîrti* seems to have the same technical meaning as *kîrtana*, 'temple;' see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, pp. 229 and 289.

[1] The *s* of the *akshara* स्त्र is incomplete; read त्रयस्त्रिंश०.

[2] The crack over त is perhaps the remains of an *e*.

[3] The letter त is entered below the line.

[4] Read स्वभुज्यमानचूडा०.

[5] The crack behind स्त is perhaps the remains of an *â*.

[6] Read पुण्येहनि.

[7] These two *aksharas* are injured by a crack and doubtful.

[8] The *r* over र्गो is indistinct.

(12.) उपरिलिखितदेवकुलाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामपि दीपतैलार्थं श्रीसर्व्वेश्वरपुरनिवासितैलिकमहत्तक भोच्चाकसुतसर्व्वस्वाक (।) तथा माधव -

(13.) सुतज्याशक्ति तथा शिवधरिसुतसाहुल्ल तथा सङ्गाकसुतगग्गोक । तथा श्रीवत्सस्वामिपुरनिवासितैलिकमह -

(14.) त्तक कुण्डाकसुतसिंघाक तथा वल्लूकसुतखोहडाक । तथा चच्चिकाहट्टिकानिंवादित्यहट्टिकयोर्व्विवासितैलिकम -

(15.) हत्तक देउवाकसुतजज्जट तथा वच्छिल्लाकसुतगोग्गाक तथा देद्दूकसुतजम्बेक तथा रुद्रटसुतजम्बहरि । एवमादि -

(16.) समस्ततैलिकश्रेष्ठा प्रतिकोल्लुकं मासि मासि शुक्लनवम्यां शुक्लनवम्यां तैलपलिका पलिका दातव्येत्यक्षयनी -

(17.) मिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथाद्यैवामूभ्यामेव देवकुलाभ्यां श्रीगोपगिरितलोपरिनिवासिमालिकमहर गाडुल्लसुतटिक्कूक

(18.) तथा देद्दूकसुतजासेक तथा वहुलाकसुतसिद्दू[9]क तथा जम्बाकसुतसहडाक तथा दन्तिसुतदुर्गधरि तथा नन्नुमाकवा[10]-

(19.) उमाक तथा वेउवाकसुतवाय[टा]कादिसमस्तमालिकश्रेष्ठा पूजार्थं यथाकालोपयिक[11]हट्टपुष्पैर्म्मा -

(20.) लाः प(ा)ञ्चाशत् पञ्चाशत् माला ५० प्रतिदिनं दातव्येत्य[12]क्षयनीमिका प्रदत्ता [॥×] एतदुपरिलिखितं उपरिलिखि -

(21.) स्थानादिभिः स्वभुक्त्या आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिकालं प्रदत्तं [॥×] परिपन्थना केरपि[13] न कर्त्तव्या ॥ यतस्स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

(22.) हरेत वसुन्धरां [।×] स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मोदते[14] ॥ वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य

(23.) यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ * ॥[15]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Adoration to Vishṇu! In the year nine hundred and thirty-three, on the second day of the bright (*half*) of Mâgha,—Sam[vat] 933, Mâgha śudi 2—to-day, here at Śrî-Gopagiri, while the *parameśvara* Śrî-Bhojadeva was the ruler, while the guardian of the fort (*koṭṭapâla*) Alla commanded this (*Gopagiri*), while Tattaka commanded the army (*and*) while the merchant Vavviyâka, the trader Ichchhuvâka, and the other (*members*) of the board (? *vâra*) of the Savviyâkas were administering the city, the whole town gave to the temple of the nine Durgâs, *viz.* of Rudra, Rudrâṇî, Pûrṇâśâ, *&c.*, which Alla, the son of Vâillabhaṭṭa, had caused to be built on the further bank of the Vriśchikâlâ river, a piece of land belonging to the village of Chûḍâpallikâ, which was its (*viz.* the town's) property, two hundred and seventy royal *hastas*—*hasta* 270—in length (*and*) one hundred and eighty-seven *hastas*—*hasta* 187—in breadth, for a flower-garden, on an auspicious day.

[9] द्दू might be also read instead of ड्डू.
[10] Read नन्नुमाकसुतवा०.
[11] Read यथाकालोपयिक०.
[12] Read दातव्या इत्य०.
[13] Read कैरपि.
[14] Read पच्यते.
[15] There follows an illegible scrawl, which fills the remainder of line 23 and four further lines.

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"At the Congress of Orientalists lately held in London the very highest praise was awarded to Dr. Burgess for his share in this undertaking as chief editor. No higher praise could be accorded here to Dr. Burgess than this statement of the value attached to his labours by so many of the highest Oriental scholars."—*The R. I. B. A. Journal*, 22nd December 1892.

ERRATA.

Page 131, l. 18, *for* the pardoned deceased son of, *read* son of the deceased pardoned.
" 134, l. 1, *for* ابره *read* ابن *and* l. 8, *read* Ism'aîl, son of Râïb.
" 135, l. 18, *for* درگهل *we may read* درکه مل *i.e.* Durgah Mall.
" 136, l. 11, from bottom, *dele* of *before* the renowned.
" 148, l. 13, from bottom, *read* الفقير حقير خانيوسف اغا ابن شيخ يوسف *i.e.* (l. 6, from bottom). "The poor, base Khân Yûsuf Âghâ, son of Shaikh Yûsuf."
" 150, l. 20, for تند كحضرت *read* بند كحضرت *i.e.* (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.
" 154, ll. 25, 26, 27, *for* Bohm *read* Bohar.
" 157, l. 6, *for* غاضي *read* غازي

PAPERS ON HAND.

Persian and Arabic Inscriptions from Panjab; by Paul Horn, Ph.D.
The Rock Edicts of Aśoka; by Prof. G. Bühler, LL.D., Ph.D., C.I.E.
Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurâ; by the same.
The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions; by the same.
Verâwal Praśasti; by the same.
Benares copperplate grant of Vaidyadeva of Kâmarûpa; by A. Venis, M.A.
Benares copperplate grants of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1162 and 1196; by the same.
Copperplate grant of Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 158; by A. Führer, Ph.D.
Two copperplate grants and a stone image inscription of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1208, 1209, and 1210 respectively; by the same.
Gobindpur inscriptions of the Poet Gangadhara; by Prof. F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.
Benares copperplate inscription of Karṇadeva, Chedi year 793; by the same.
Dudhpani inscription; by the same.
Gaya inscription; by the same.
Tables for calculating Hindû dates in true local time; by Prof. H. Jacobi, Ph.D., Bonn.
Sanads; by Paul Horn, Ph. D.

No. 39

this dragon, Tathâgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."[4] Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśâmbî, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosâm. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nâga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnâ while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nâga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divâlî festival.[5] Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nâga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2′ 2″ by 1′ 9″, has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2′ 3″ are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1′ 5″ and the other of 1′ 7″. The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1′ 3″ above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8′ 6″ on the right in length, by 7′ 4″ in width and 3′ 3″ in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1′ 8″ in

[4] Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopâla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

[5] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.

breadth, and 1′ 2″ in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

No. I.

On the rock outside the cave.

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14″ by 10½″. Each letter is on an average 1·3″ long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn[6] of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśâmbî, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

Text.[7]

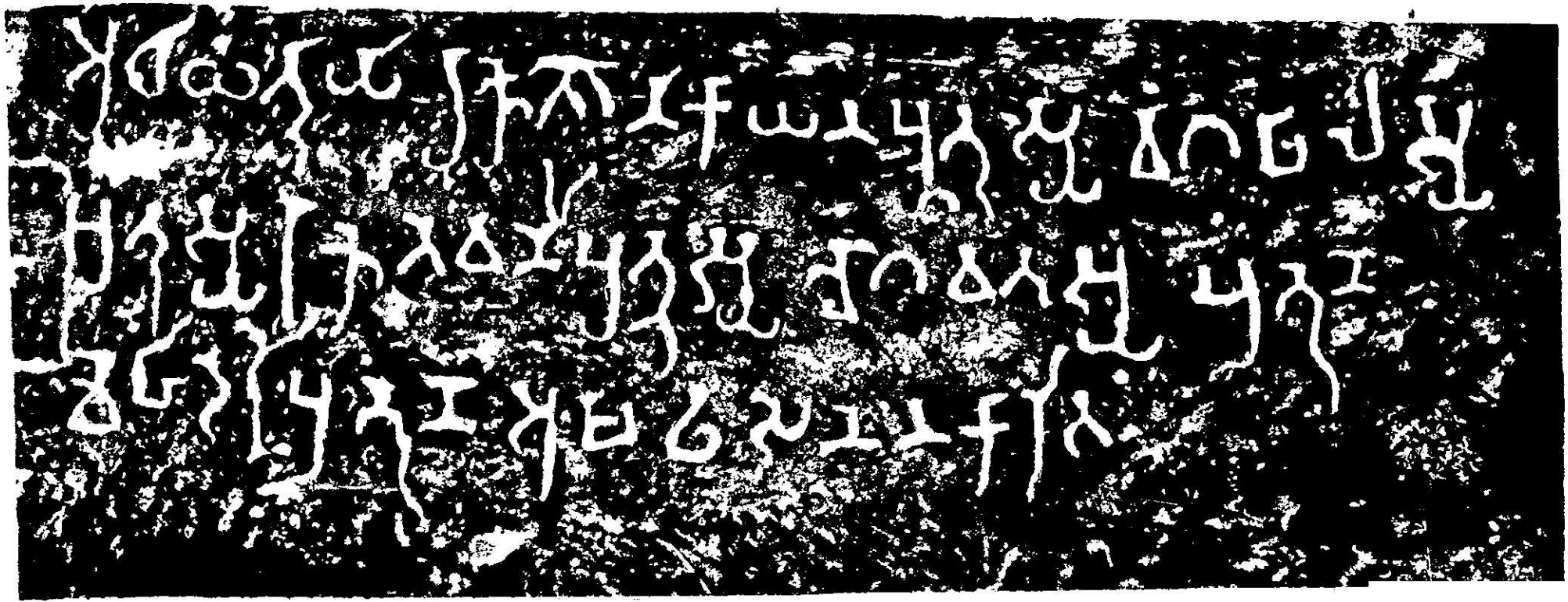
L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्तस
3. मातुलेन गोपालीया[8]
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा][9]
5. आसाढसेनेन लेनं
6. कारितं [उदाकस][10] दस-
7. मे सवछरे कश्शपीयानं अरहं-
8. [ता]नं [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. I,—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.

A. Führer, Ph. D. impress.

Scale: 3-5ths.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



A. Führer, Ph.D. impress

Scale: 1-3rd.

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. अधिछत्राया राज्ञो शोनकायनपुत्रस्य वंग[13]पालस्य

2. पुत्रस्य राज्ञो[14] तेवणीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण

3. वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Âshâḍhasena, son of the Vaihidarî (*i.e. Vaihidara—princess, and*) son of king Bhâgavata, son of the Tevaṇî (*i.e. Traivarṇa-princess, and*) son of king Vaṁgapâla, son of Śonakâyana (Śaunakâyana) of Adhichhatrâ."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śuṅga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrâ,[15] the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pâṅchâla, here furnished to us :—

Śonakâyana
|
Vaṁgapâla married to Tevaṇî (the Traivarṇa-princess)[17]
(King of Adhichhatrâ)[16]. |
|
King Bhâgavata md. to Gopâlî, the Vaihidarî (Vaihidara-princess).
|
Gopâlî — Âshâḍhasena
|
King Bahasatimitra.

Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśâmbî, as the latter place is close to Prabhâsa, and as many of his coins [18] have been found at Kauśâmbî.

No. III.

In the modern Dharmśâlâ.

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśâlâ in the village of Pabhosâ. It records the consecration

[12] See Facsimile No. II.

[13] Possibly वेंग° or वांग°

[14] Possibly रञो.

[15] The modern Râmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p., 26—29. The same form Adhichhatrâ, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahâbharâta*, *Harivaṁśa*, and *Pâṇiṇi*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Râmnagar.

[16] Compare the Ἀδισαδρά of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 53.

[17] The epithets Traivarṇa and Vaihidarî are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurâṇik lists. Compare *e. g.* कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosala-family." Compare also the epithet Tevaṇika, or Traivarṇika occurring in one of the Mathurâ inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 73; where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatamitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśâmbî in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrâ (Râmnagar) in 1891.

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881, by Sâdhu[19] Śrî Hîrâlâl of Allahâbâd, on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kauśâmbî. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśâmbî and Prabhâsa.

TEXT.[20]

L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लषष्ठ्यां शुक्रवास-
2. रे काष्ठासंघे माथुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्यान्वये
3. भट्टारकश्रीजगत्कीर्त्तिस्तत्पट्टे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-
4. र्त्तिजित्तदाम्नाये अग्रोतकान्वये गोयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-
5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमल्लस्तदनुजफेरुम-
6. ल्लस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीमिहरचंदस्तद्भ्रातासुमेरुचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीहो-
8. रालालेन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षाह्वानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-
10. बिंबप्रतिष्ठा कारिता अंगरेजबहादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kauśâmbî, by Sâdhu Śrî Hîrâ Lâl, son of Sâdhu Śrî Mâṇikya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sâdhu Śrî Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sâdhu Śrî Râyajî Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka[21] family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Lalitakîrttijit, in the line of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Jagatkîrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara *gaṇa*, the Mathurâ *gachchha*, and the Kâshṭhâsaṁgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

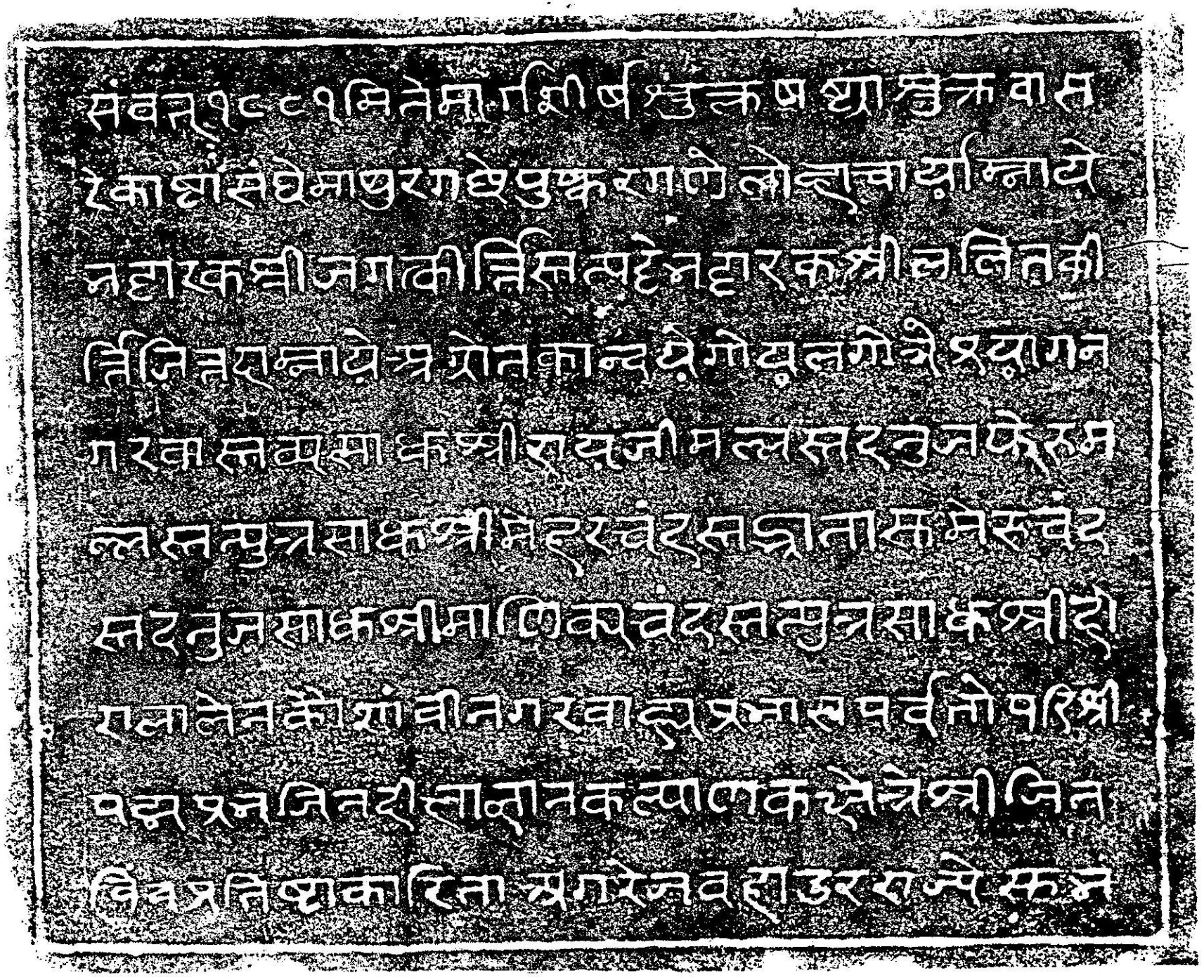
The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminâtha, dated Saṁvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

[19] *i.e.* banker and merchant.

[20] See facsimile No. III.

[21] The modern *Agarwâlâ Baniyâs*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION.—IN THE WALL OF THE MODERN DHARMASALA.



XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.[1]

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia* (*Lauria-Araráj*), *Mathia* (*Lauria-Navandgarh*) *and Râmpûrvâ*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Râmpûrva version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account[2] of Mr. Garrick, the Râmpûrva Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Râmpûrva version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

[1] These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

[2] See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.

be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudânepi* into *cha khu dâne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyâ kâlanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome ii, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.[3] Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Râjanîti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śâstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñânamârga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

[3] In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 384.

literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe dimne, kâlanena-va-hakam mâ palibhasayisamti, nâtikâ-va-kâni nijhapayisamti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Saṁhitâs* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

Edict I.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânam-piye Piyadasi lâja-	. . . . .	Devânam piye Piyadasî lâjâ
bevam-âhâ [:] saḍuvîsati[4] [1]	. . . . .	bevam âhâ [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyam-dham-	. . . . .	sitena me iyam dhammalipi likhâ-
malipi likhâpitâ[:] [2] hidatapâ-	. . . . .	pitâ [:] hidatapâlate dusampaṭipâd-
late dusampaṭipâdaye amnata-	. . . . .	(a)y(e) [1] amnata agâya dham-
agâyâ-dhammakâmatâyâ [3] agâ-	. . . . .	makâmatâya agâya palîkhâya
ya-palîkhâyâ agâya-susûsâyâ age-	. . . . .	agâya susûsâyâ agena bhayena
na-bhayenâ [4] agena-usâhenâ [.]	. . . . .	[age]na usâhena [.] Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyâ [5]	. . . . .	mama anusathiyâ [2] dhammâ-
dhammâpekhâ dhammakâmatâ-	. . . . .	pekhâ dhammakâmatâ cha suve
châ suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhîsati-	. . . . .	suve vaḍhitâ vaḍhisati chevâ [.]
chevâ-[6] Pulisâ-pi-cha-me ukasâ-	. . . . .	Pulisâ pi me ukasâ cha gevayâ
châ gevayâ-châ majhimâ-châ anu-	. . . . .	cha majhimâ cha anuvidhîyamti
vidhîyamtî [7] sampaṭipâdayam-	. . . . .	sampaṭipâdayamti cha [3] alam
ti-châ alam-chapalam-samâdapay-	. . . . .	chapalam samâdapayitave [;] heme-
itave [;] hemevâ-amta [8] mahâ-	. . . . .	va amtamahâmâtâ pi [.] Esâ hi
mâtâ-pi [.] Esâ-pi[5]-vidhi yâ-	. . . . .	vidhi yâ iyam dhammena pâlanâ
iyam-dhammena-pâlanâ dham-	. . . . nam dhammena	dhammena vidhâne dhammen[a]
mena-vidhâne [9] dhammena-	[1] vidhâne dha[m]m	sukhîyanâ dhammena guti ti chu
sukhiyanâ dhammena-gotî-ti [.]	khi[ya] . . . . . [2] [.]	[4] [.]

[4] The sign, read here *ḍu*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sânchi inscriptions, *e.g.*, in *Pâḍukulikâ, i.e., Pâmḍukulikâ*. With the form *saḍuvîsati* compare *duve, duvâla, kuḍumala*.

[5] Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

[6] I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kâlsi version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 l. 12, in the last syllables of *anuvidhiyamti* and *anuvidhiyisamti*.

EDICT I.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi [1] likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate[7] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya-dhaṁmakâmatây[a] agâya-palîkhâya [2] agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena [.] Esa-chukho-mama - anusathiya dhaṁmapekha [3] dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhisati cheva [.] Pulisâ-pi-me ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti [4] saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁ-chapalaṁ samâdapayitave hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâhi-vidhi yâ-iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlana[5] dhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmena-sukhîyana dhaṁmena gotîti [6] [.]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ - piye Piyadasi - lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisilena me iyam [1] dhaṁmalipi likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya[2] agâya-palîkhâya agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena[.] Esa-chu- khomama [3] anusathiya dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva [.] Pulisâ-pi-me[4] ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁchapalaṁ-samâdapayitave [5] hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâhi-vidhi yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlanadhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmenasukhîyana [6] dhaṁmena-gotî-ti [7.]

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânâṃ in-piye Piyadasi-lajaja . hevaṁ-âha[:] sa[ḍu] . . . . . [1] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya . . . . . [5.] . . . . . [2] Esa-chukho-mama anusathiya • dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁma . . . . . [3] gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁ . . . . . [4] yâ iyaṁ dhammena pâlana dhaṁmena vidhâne dhaṁmena s[u] . . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—" After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.[8] But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones[9] and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners[10] back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.[11] Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,[12] to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

[7] Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pâlata*, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. S.), l. 18 (D. S.), VII. 2, l. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paralokaḥ* or *pâralaukikam*, see *Pañchatantra*, iii, p. 54, l. 17 (Bo. edition).

[8] *Circumspection, i.e*, a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience, i.e.*, towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear, i.e.*, of sin.

[9] *Gevayâ*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhâtupâṭha* explains by *dainye*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, **gepya-*glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

[10] *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinîtâ*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

[11] The *aṁtamahâmâtâ*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapâlâḥ* of the Sanskrit writers, see, *e.g*, *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. *S. Ser*, 2nd ed.).

[12] It will be best to take *hi* here *avadhâraṇe, i.e.*, in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.

Ed. V.

3

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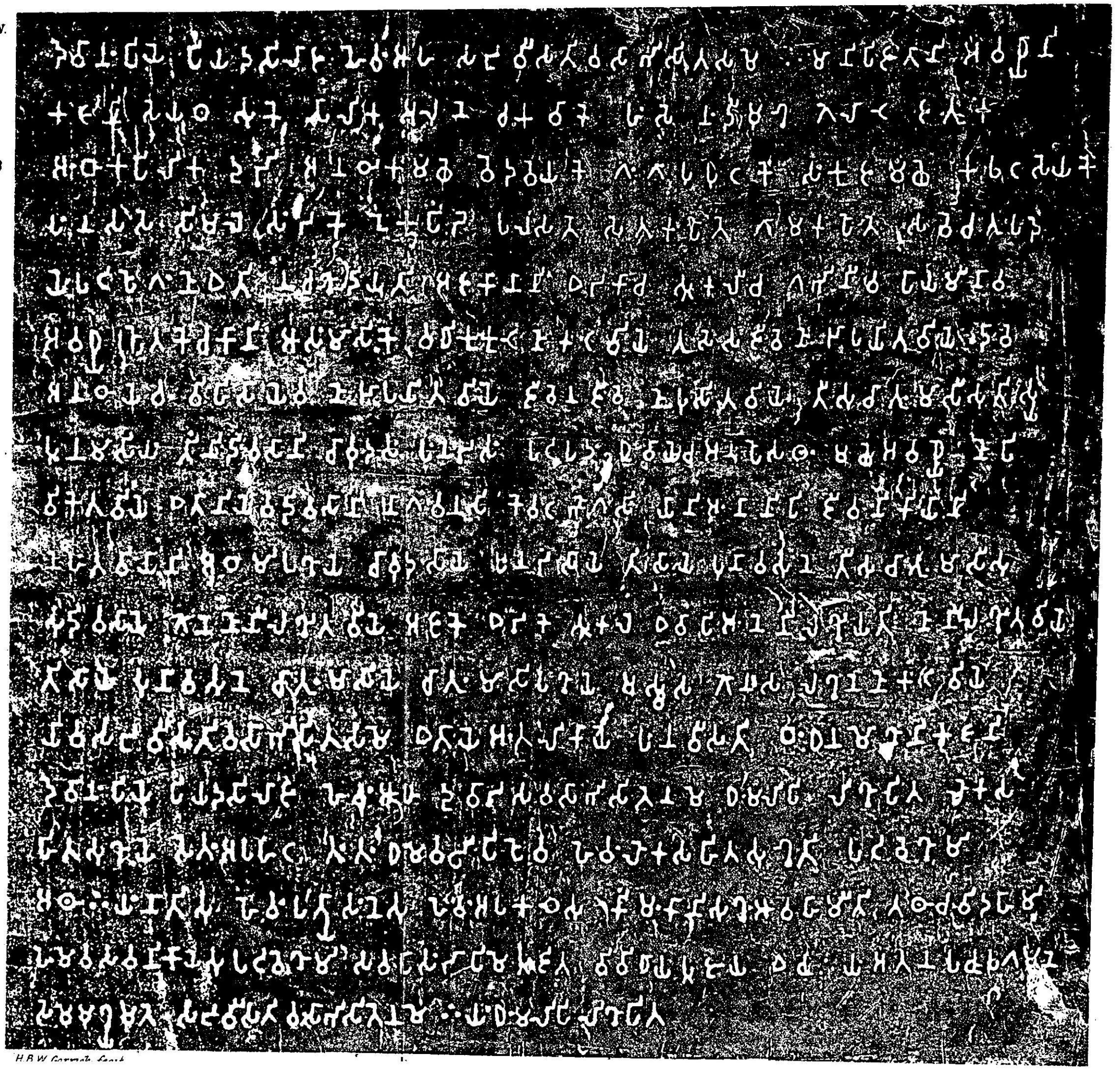
9

12

VI.

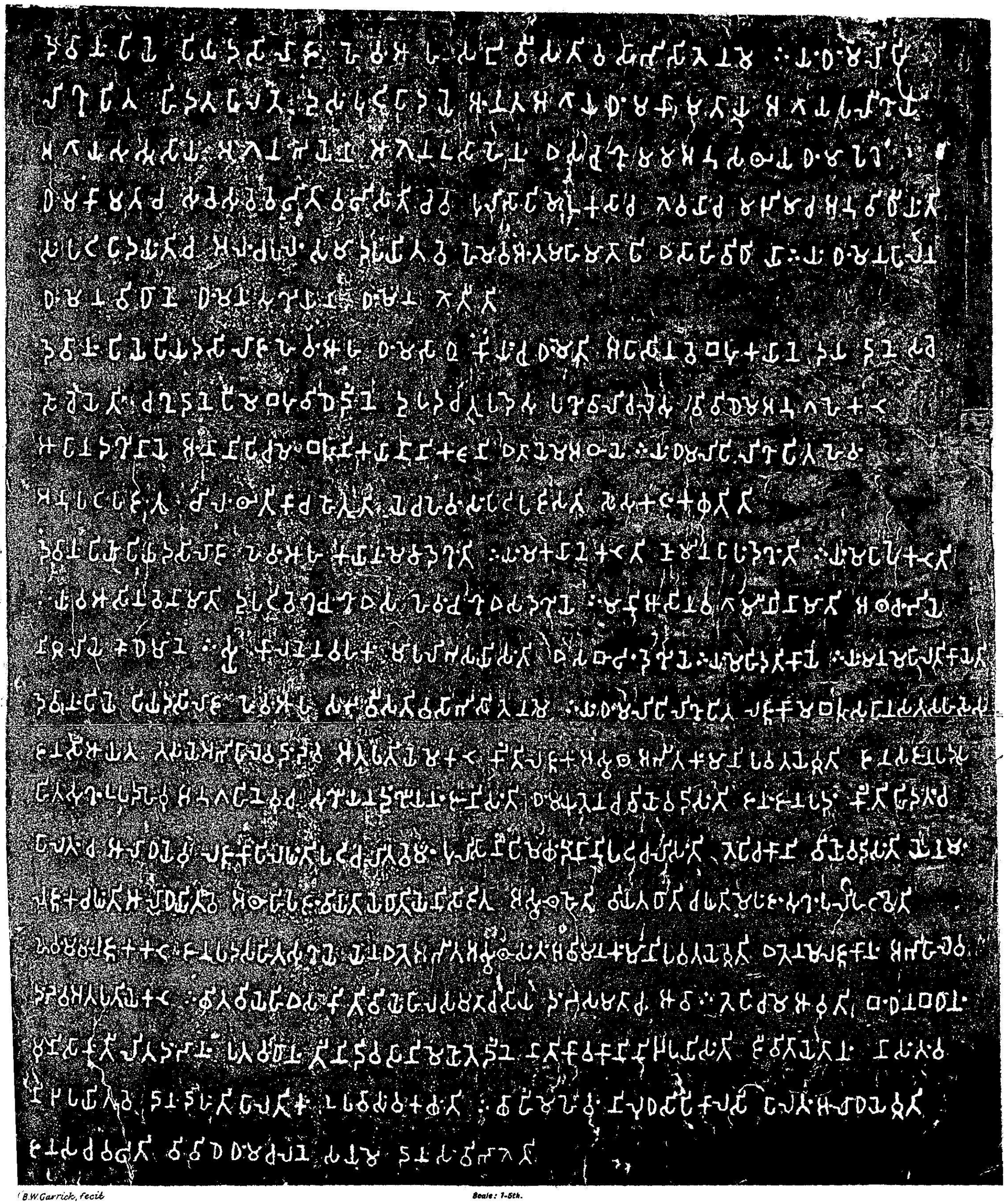
15

18



H.B.W. Garrick, fecit.

AŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RĀDHIA,—SOUTH SIDE.



B.W. Garrick, fecit

Scale: 1-5th.

EDICT II.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ [10] hevaṁ-âhâ [:] dhaṁme-sâdhû [.] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [?] Apâsinave bahu-kayâne [11] dayâ-dâne sache-sochaye [.] Chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe-diṁne dupada-[12] chatupadesu pakhivâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe â-pâna-[13] dâkhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me-bahûni kayânâni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me [14] aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ [:] hevaṁ-anupaṭipajaṁtû chilaṁ-[15] thitikâ-cha-hotû-tî-ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipajîsati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhatî-ti [.16]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-hev . . . [:] dhaṁme-sâdh [u] [13] [.] Kiyaṁ . . . . . [?3] Apâsinave bahu-kayâne dayâ dâne sache [so]-chaye [.] [Chakhudâ] naṁ-pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-diṁne dupa-dachatupadesu pakhivâlichale. [vi-vidhe-me-anu] [5] gahe-kaṭe â-pâ-nadâkhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahû [ni . yânâni] [6] kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-lipi-li [khâpitâ] . . [7] anupaṭipa-jaṁtû chila [ṁthi] tikâ [14] - cha-hotû-[ti] [.] Ye-cha-he . . . . . [8] sati se-sukaṭaṁ-ka [chha] tî-[ti] [.9]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ [:] dhaṁme sâdhu [:] Kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti [?] Apâsin-ave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache sochaye [.] Chakhudâne pi me [5] bahuvidhe diṁne dupada-chatupadesu [15] pakhivâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe â pâ-nadakhinâye [16] aṁnâni pi cha me bahuni kayânâni kaṭâni [.6] Etâye me aṭhâye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ [:] hevaṁ anupaṭipa-jaṁtu chilaṭhitîkâ cha hotû ti [.] Ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhatîti [.7]

EDICT II.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasi lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [ ] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [?] Apâ-sinave bahu-kayâne daya dâne sache [7] socheye-ti [.] Chakhu-dâne-pi-me-bahuvidhe-diṁne du-padachatupadesu pakhivâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe [8] â-pâ-nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahûni-kayânâni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhamalipi likhâ-pita [:] hevaṁ [9] anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-hotû-ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipajisati se-su-kaṭaṁ-kachhati-ti [.10]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [.] Apâsi-nave bahu-kayâne [8] daya dâne sache socheye-ti [.] Chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe-diṁne dupada-chatupadesu pakhi- [9] vâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe â-pâ-nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahûni-kayânâni [10] kaṭâni [.] Etâye-m [e] -aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁ-malipi likhâpita [:] hevaṁ-anu-paṭipajamtu chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-hotû-ti [.11] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁ-paṭipajisati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhati [.12]

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.] Kiyaṁ . . . . . [6] bahuvidhe-diṁne dupadachatupadesu pakhivâlicha-lesu vivi . . . . . [7] . . . . . Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-lipi-likhâpita [:] hevaṁ a . . . . . [.8]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"(*To fulfill*) the law is meritorious. But what does (*the fulfilment of*) the law include? (*It includes*) sinlessness[a], many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight[b] I have given (*to men*) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

[13] The quantity of the second vowel of *sâdhu* is not certain.

[14] *Chilaṁ°* looks like *chilâ°*; possibly *ṭhitikâ* to be read

[15] Possibly *dupadaṁchatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

[16] *Pânadakhinâ* is the Sanskrit *prâṇadakshiṇâ*, a less commonly used variant for *abhayadakshiṇâ* 'the boon of safety.' The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.

have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

Remarks.

a. I explain *apâsinave* by *apâsravam*, used in the sense of *apâsravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *aṇhaya*, which exactly corresponds to *âsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *âsnu* (see Weber: *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *âsinava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *âsava*, but comes closer to that of the Jaina *aṇhaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of *chakhudâne* by *cha khu dâne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *khu* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakhu*, in Sanskrit *chakshus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dhammasâvanâni* and *dhammânusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1); compare also *dhammadâne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

Edict III.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhati[:] iyaṁ-me[17] kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhati [:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-vâ-âsinave[18] nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esâ[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni[19] âsinavagâmîni-nâma atha-chaṁḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isyâ [20] kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-pali-bhasayisaṁ[.] Esa-bâḍha-dekhiye[:] iyaṁ-me[21] hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye [.21]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-hevaṁ-âhâ[:] kayânaṁm va-d[ekha].(:) . . m.[10] kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No minâ-pâpaṁ-dekhati[:] [i]yaṁ-me-pâpaṁ-ka[ṭe-ti iyaṁ v.][11] âsinave-nâ[mâ]-ti [.][17] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esâ [.] Hevaṁ-chu . . [sâ d]ekhiye :12] [i]mâni-âsinavag[âmîni]-nâma atha[18] chaṁḍiye niṭhû-liye-kodhe[13] mâne isyâ kâlane-na-v[a][19] hakaṁ-mâ-palibha[sa]-yisa [.]. . bâḍhaṁ[14] dekhiye[:] iyaṁ . e [hidati]kâye iyaṁ-me-pâlatikâye [.15]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:] kayânam-eva dekhati(:) iyaṁ me kayâne kaṭe ti [.] No mina pâpakaṁ dekhati[:] iyaṁ me pâpake kaṭe ti iyaṁ vâ âsinave nâmâ ti[8] . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kaṭe-ti [.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti[11] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭive-khe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni-âsinava-

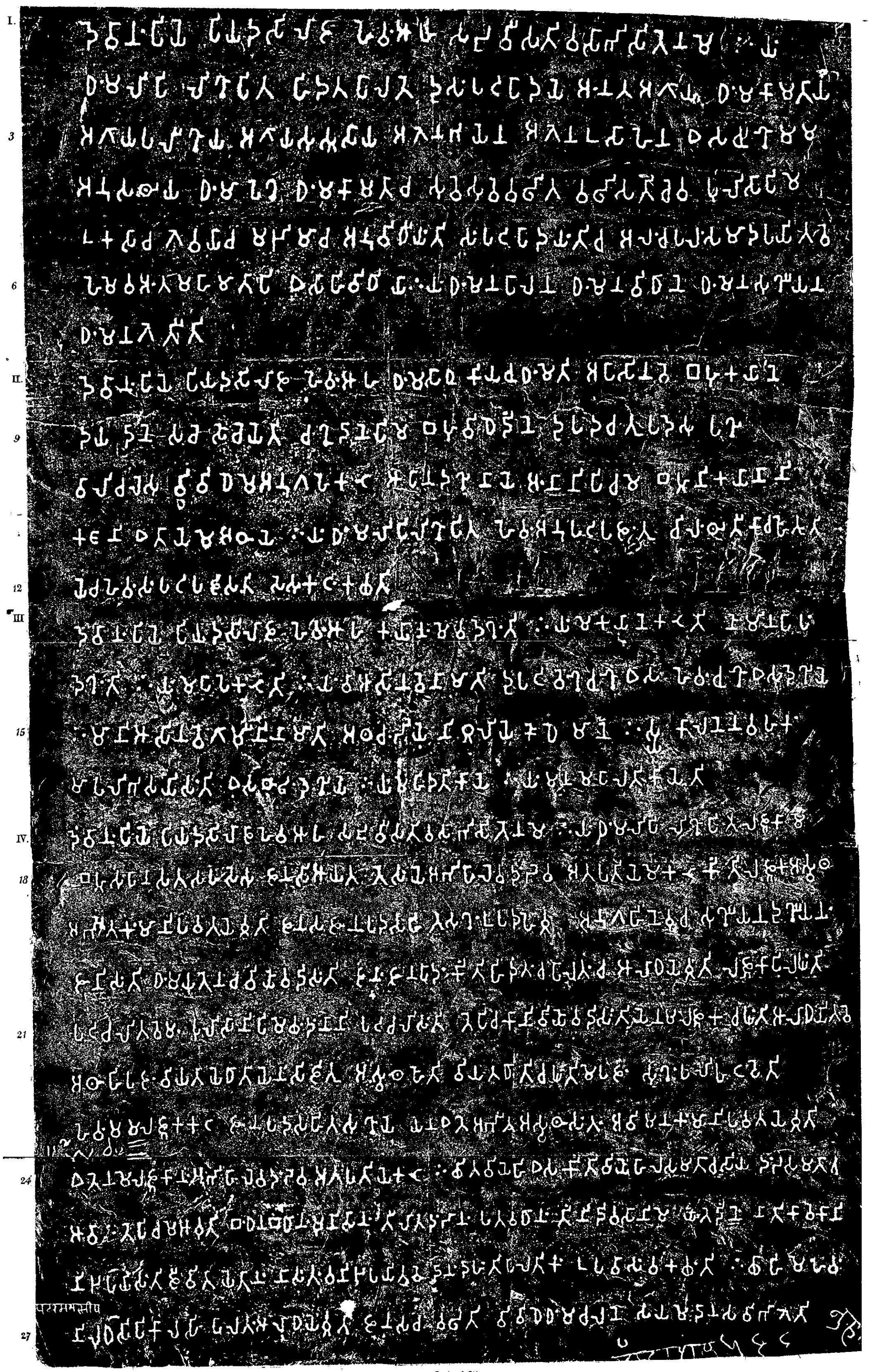
Mathia.

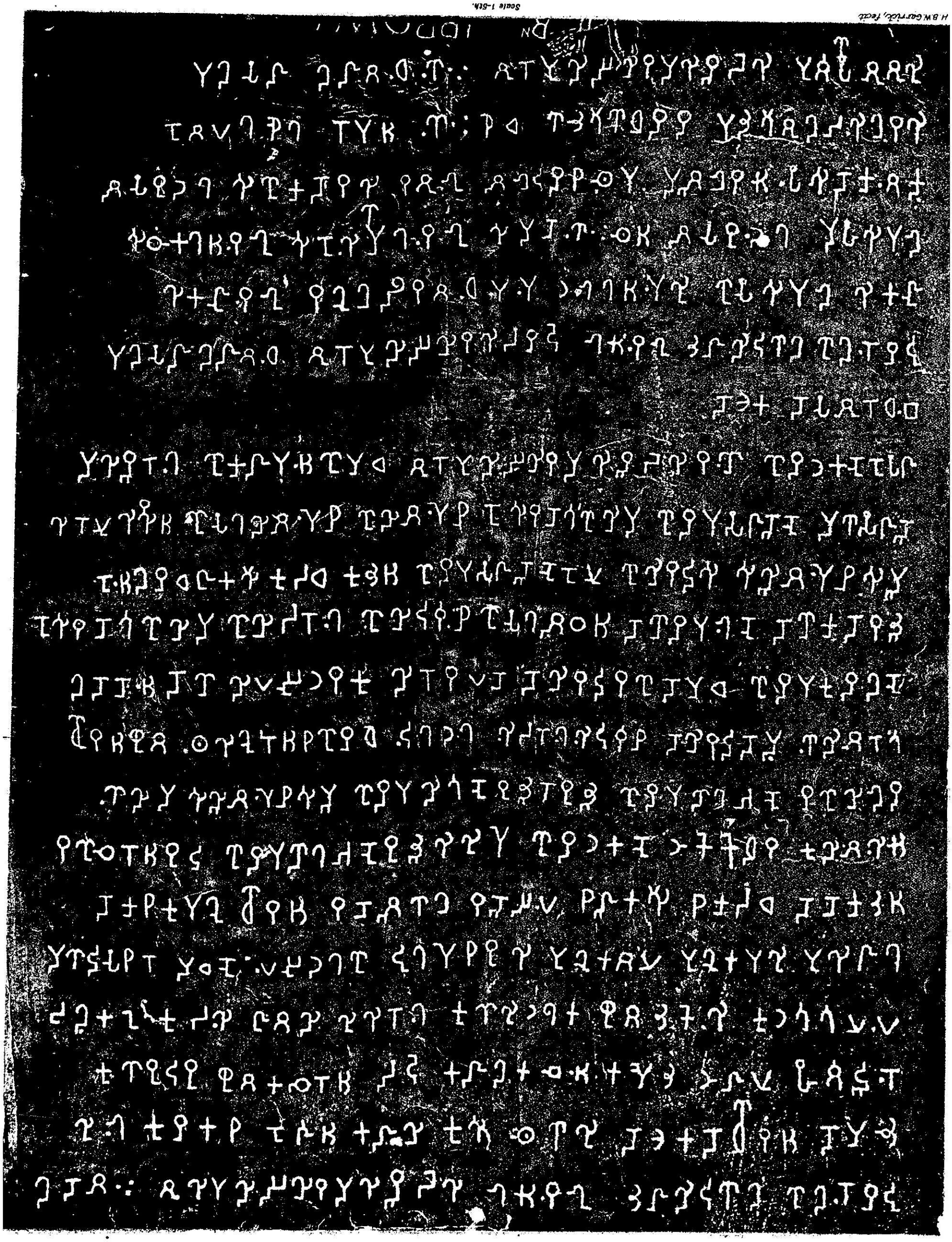
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhaṁti[:]iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ [13]d [e]khaṁti-[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:14] imâni-âsinave-

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-e . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .[9] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâ-mâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] He-[v.] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[17] Possibly *nâma-ti* is to be read.
[18] The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of *atha* is probably an accidental scratch.
[19] Possible *vâ* is to be read.





H. B. W. Garrick, fecit. Scale 1-5th.

ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF LAURIYA NAVANDGARH OR MATHIA (Ed. V. AND VI.)

EDICT III—*contd.*

Radhia.	*Mathia*	*Râmpûrvâ.*
gâmîni-nâmâ-ti atha-chaṁḍiye [12] niṭhûliye kodhe-mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa-bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me-hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye-ti[13]	gâmîni[20]-nâmâ-ti atha-cha[ṁ]-ḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ[15] mâ-palibhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me-hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me-pâlatikâye-ti[.15]	. . . [10] kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasayi. . . . . [11]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"Man only sees his good deeds, (*and says unto himself*) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in no wise[21] his evil deeds (*and does not say unto himself*) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (*and say unto himself*): 'Such (*passions*) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy (*are those*) called sinful; even through these I shall bring about my fall.'[22] But man ought to mark most the following (*and say unto himself*): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world."

EDICT IV.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âhâ[:] saḍuvîsativasa-[1] abhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ[.] Lajûkâ-me[2] ba-hûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-âyatâ tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-vâ[3] daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûkâ asvatha abhîtâ [4] kaṁmâni-pavatayevû janasa-jânapadasâ hitasukhaṁ-upadah-evû[5] anugahinevu-châ[.] Su-khîyana dukhîyanam-jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha[6] viyova-disaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha pâlataṁ-cha [7] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti paṭichaliṭave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi-me[8] chhaṁdaṁnâni-paṭichalisaṁti te-pi-cha-kâni-vi-yovadisaṁti yena-maṁ-lajûkâ [9] chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye	. . . . . [lajû-kâ] chaghaṁti-[â]lâ[dhayi-tave] [.2] . . . . . tu asva[ṭhe-ho]	. . . . .

[20] The *e*-stroke of *âsinavegâmîni* is too distinct in the new facsimile to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the mason.

[21] *Mina, minâ* (D. M.) and *mana* represent in my opinion the Sanskrit *manâk*, Pali *manâ*. *Na manâk* or *no manâk* 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

[22] Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Sanskrit translation of the phrase is [*teshâṁ*] *kâraṇenaivâhaṁ mâ paribhraṁśayishyâmi*, and *mâ* may be taken in this case to stand for *mâṁ*, or as the negative particle. M. Senart's attempt to connect *isyâ-kâlanena* is barred by the fact that all versions have breaks between the two words.

EDICT IV—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

nisijitu[10] asvathe-hoti[:] Viyata-dhâti chaghati-me-pajaṁ sukhaṁ-palihaṭave[,11] hevaṁ-mamâ-lajûkâ-kaṭâ jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] yena-ete-abhîtâ [12] asvatha-saṁtaṁ avimanâ-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ[13] abhîhâle-va-daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esâ-[;]kiṁ-ti[?14] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-châ[.] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-âvuti[:15] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me [16] yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-vakâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ[17] nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-nijhapayitâ dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.18] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha[19] vaḍhati-vividhe-dhaṁmachalane saṁyame dânasa-vibhâge-ti[.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

ti [:3] [viya]. . . . . li[ha] ṭave[,] h[e]vaṁ-mamâ[4] lajûk[â] . . . . . ye[;] yena-ete-abhîtâ[5] asvatha-saṁ . . . . . [pa]vatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me [6] . . [j]ûkânaṁ . . . . . atapatiye-[kaṭe] [.7] Ichhitavi . . . . . hâlasamatâ-ch[a]-siyâ [23] [8] daṁḍasa[ma] . . . . . [me]-âvuti[:] baṁdhanaba[dhâ]naṁ[9] munisâna[ṁ] . . . . . vadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-[m]e[10] yote diṁne[.] . . . payisaṁ[t]i jîvitâye-tânaṁ [11] nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-ni . . . . . ti pâlatikaṁ[12] u[pa] vâsaṁ-vâ-ka- . . . . . hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-[k]âlasi[13] [p]âlataṁ-âlâdhay . . . . vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane saṁyame dâ[na] . . . . . [15]

Allahabad.

. . . . . hâlasamatâ châ siyâ daṁḍasamatâ cha[.] Ava [24] ite pi cha me âvuti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni divasâni yote diṁne[:17] . . . va kâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ vâ nijhapayitâ dânaṁ dâhaṁti pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ vâ kachhaṁti[.18] . . . me[:] hevaṁ niludhasi pi kâlasi pâlataṁ âlâdhayevu janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge [.19]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me-bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu[14] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[.?] lajûka-asvatha abhîta kaṁmâni pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa [15] hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha[16] pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevu[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti-paṭichalitave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi me-chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni viyovadisaṁti yena-maṁ[17] lajûka-chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ-viyatâye-dhâtiye-nisiji-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativas[â]-bhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me[17] bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûka-asvatha [18] abhîta-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa-hitasukhaṁ—upadahevû anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ[19] jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti[20] paṭichalitave-maṁ [;] pulisâni-pi-me chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni-viyovadisaṁti-yena-maṁ-lajûka chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.21] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

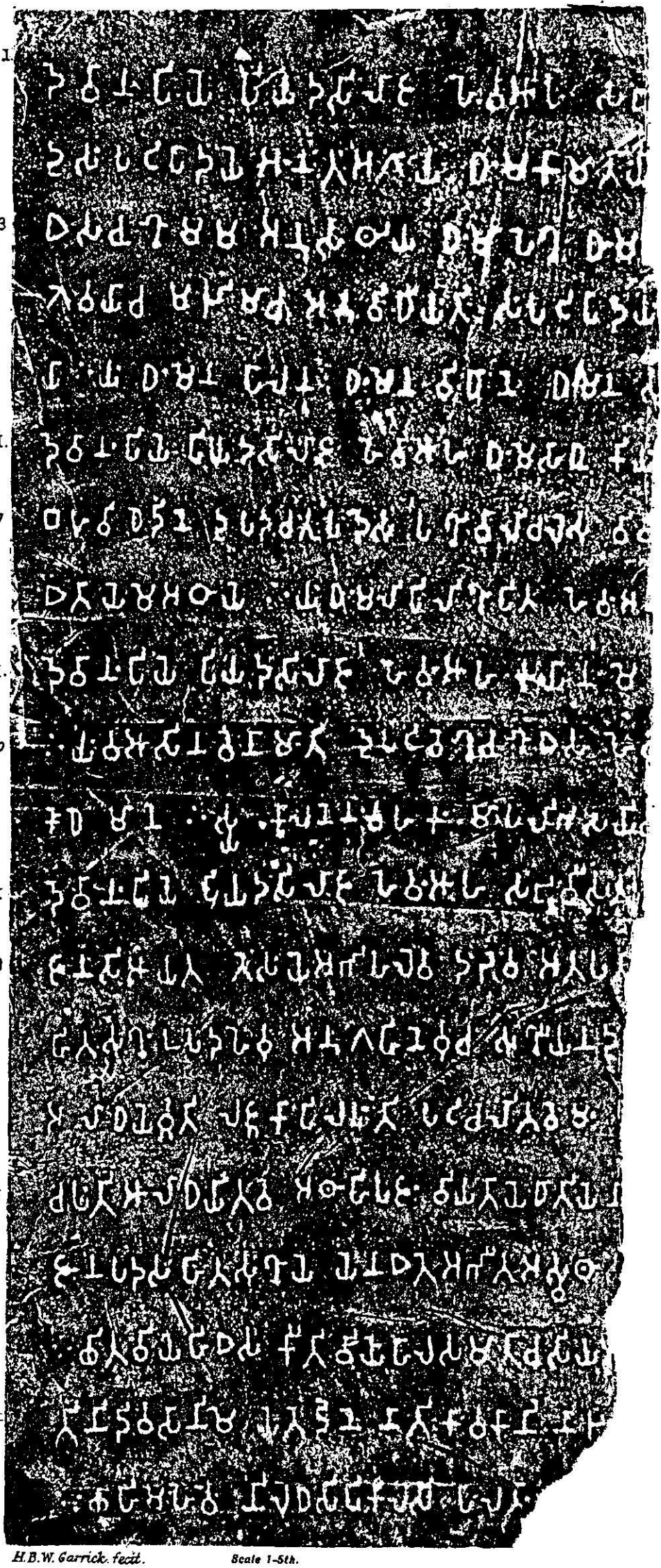
Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsati . . . . . [12] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihale-va daṁḍe-va atapati . . . . . [13] hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadu . . . . . [14] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti paṭichalitave-maṁ . . . . . .[15] chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

[23] Possibly *châ-siyâ* is to be read.

[24] Possibly *âva-ite* is to be read.

PORTION OF AŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RAMPURWA.



H.B.W. Garrick. fecit. Scale 1-5th.

EDICT IV—*contd.*

Radhia.	*Mathia.*	*Râmpûrvâ.*
tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajaṁ-sukhaṁ-pali-haṭave-ti[,18] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa[25] jânapadasa-hitasu-khâye[;] yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ-avimana-kaṁmâni-pava-tayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ abhihâle-va[19] daṁḍe-va-atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esâ[;] kiṁ-ti[?] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[.] Âvâ ite-pi-cha-me âvuti[:] baṁ-dhanabadhânaṁ[20] munisâ-naṁ-tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhâ-naṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me-yote-diṁne[;] Nâtikâ-va-kâni-nijha-payisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ nâsaṁ-taṁ-va[21] nijhapayitave dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlat-aṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti[22] janasa-cha-vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasaṁvibhâge-ti[23]	nisijitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajaṁ su-khaṁ-palihaṭave-ti[,22] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ avimana-kaṁ-mâni-pavatayevû-ti[.23] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ-abhihâle-va-daṁ-ḍe-va atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhita-viye-hi-esa[;] kiṁ-ti[?]-viyohâla-samatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[.24] Âvâ-ite-pi-cha-me-âvu-ti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-mu-nisâna[ṁ]tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patava-dhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-va-kâni[25] ni-jhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ-va-nijhapayitave dân-aṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ[26] niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâ-lataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge-ti[27]	ni . . . . . [16] jânapadasa-hitasukhâye yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ . . . . . [17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kî-ti[?] vi-yohâlasamatâ-cha-siya . . . . . [18] tiṁni-divasâni-me y[o]te-diṁne[.] Nâ-tikâ-va-kâni nijha- . . . . . [19] Ichhâ-hi-me-hevaṁ niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ . . . . . [20]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajûkas*[a] are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments[b]—Why? In order that the *Lajûkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,[c]—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajûkas* are eager to serve me[d]. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajûkas* may strive to gain my favour.[e] For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajûkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajûkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business[26] and

[25] It is possible to read *lajûka-kaṭe*. But the seeming *e*-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

[26] Though *viyohâla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahâra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhihâra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.

equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death.[27] Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment[28] may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

Remarks on the Translation.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajûka* or *râjûka* (Girnâr) in the *Kalpasûtra*, where *rajjû* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajûka*, *i.e. lajjûka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabîr*) or *Kâyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *âyatâ*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishṭhilâh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajûkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajûkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshâṁ yo' bhihâro vâ daṇḍo vâ* [*tatra*] *mayâ* [*teshâṁ*] *svatantratâ kṛitâ*, and I take *âtmapatyam* [*svatantratâ*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *âdhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihâra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid.* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihâram* by *pûjam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyâ*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' *i.e.*

[27] In the interpretation of *ava ite* (Dh. A.) and *âvâ ite* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yâvad itaḥ*, and I take *âvuti* with M. Senart as equivalent to *âyuktiḥ*. *Tilîta* or *tîlita* has here the same sense as *tîrita* Manu, IX, 233.

[28] *Niludhasi pi kâlasi*, literally *niruddhe pi kâle*, may be taken in the sense of *nirodhakâle pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, *e.g.*, *mithyâchâraṁ* and *anâchâraṁ chinnadivase* for *anâchâracharaṇadivase*, *Jât.* i, p. 300.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dhaṁmayutaṁ janaṁ* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *aṁtá*, 'the free borderers.'

(*d*) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghaṁti* for *laghaṁti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghaṁti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghaṁti*' does not exist. *Laghaṁti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghaṁte* 'they hasten', *i.e.* 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *paṭichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichár*, because in Pali the preposition *paṭi* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahârâshṭrî, *paḍiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichár*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahârâshṭrî*, glossary *sub voce* '*paḍiyariya*.'

(*e*) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhaṁdaṁnáni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *chhanda* and *ájñá*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhandaṁ jánantíti chhandajñáh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisáni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *maṁ* must be understood and is the object of *paṭichalisaṁti*, as of the preceding *paṭichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paṭivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rájanîti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *káni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajûkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajûkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajûkas. *Káni* thus refers both to the Lajûkas and the provincials. With the phrase *maṁ-álâdhayitave* compare *lájáladhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauli). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindî *châh-nâ*, I would add that *châh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisaṁti* and *nijhapayitá* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyái* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyásaná* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nátikávakáni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nátiká-va-káni*, i.e. *jñátaya eva káṁschit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitá*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitá*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitáya*. And the contraction of the syllable *áya* does occur in Pali, *e. g.*, in

esaná for *esanáya* (E. Müller, *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 67), just as it is found in the older Vedic Sanskrit and in the later Prakrit inscriptions. Finally, I cannot agree to the transliteration of *násantaṁ* by *náśántam*, because the latter word can never mean the term, *i. e.* 'the period of the execution,' but only either, 'the end of the execution' or 'that which has the execution for its end.' Neither translation gives any sense in our passage. I take *násaṁtaṁ* as equivalent to *náśyamánam* 'him who is going to be shortly executed.' It is thus the present participle of the passive of *náśayati* with the sense of the immediate future. And this explanation is formally unobjectionable, because even in the ancient Prakrits the passive may take the terminations of the active.

With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—*jñátaya eva káṁschit* [*práptavadhán*] *nididhyásayishyanti* [tathâ] *teshâṁ jívanáya náśyamánaṁ vá nididhyásayituṁ páratrikaṁ dánaṁ dásyanty upávásaṁ vá karishyanti.* The general sense is: "During the respite of three days the relatives will exhort the condemned criminals to turn their thoughts to higher things, and they will give religious gifts (not bribes to the Lajûkas) or undergo fasts, hoping that either the lives of the condemned may be spared, or that at least the hearts of those who must die, will be softened and turn heavenwards." This sense is a perfectly natural one and agrees with the further remark in the next sentence, that the king wishes them, *i. e.* the criminals, to gain heaven, while they lie in prison, and that among the people at large the performance of religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow in consequence of the king's measures. Against the earlier interpretation, which ascribes the gifts and fasts not to the anxious relatives, but to the condemned criminals themselves, it must be objected that a Hindu criminal sentenced to death has nothing to give away. His property is confiscated just as that of an English felon was formerly taken by the Crown. The written Hindu law does not always state that capital punishment entails confiscation of property. But, numerous stories from ancient and modern times leave no doubt that the practice prevailed universally under Native Governments.

Edict V.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-	. . . . .	. . . piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevam
hevaṁ-ahâ [:] saḍuvîsativasa [1]	. . . . .	âhâ [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena me
abhisitena-me imâni-jâtâni ava-	. . . . .	imâni jâtâni avadhiyâni kaṭâni
dhiyâni-kaṭâni [,] se-yathâ [2]	. . . . .	[,] se yatha suke sâlikâ alune
suke sâlikâ alune chakavâke haṁ-	. . . . .	chakavâke . . [20] . . mukhe ge-
se naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe [3] jatû-	. . . . .	lâṭe jatûke[29] ambâkipilikâ daḍî[30]
kâ ambâkapîlikâ daḍî anaṭhika-	. . . . .	anathikamachhe vedaveyake gaṁ-
machhe vedaveyake [4] gaṁgâ-	. . . . .	gâpu putake saṁkujamachhe ka-
puputake saṁkujamachhe kapha-	. . . . .	phaṭa . . ke paṁnasase simale
ṭasayake[31] paṁnasase simale [5]	. . . . .	saṁ . [21] . . . . . kapote
saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-	. . . . .	gâmakapote save chatupade ye
kapote gâmakapote [6] save-cha-	. . . . .	paṭibhogaṁ . . . . .
tupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-	. . . . .	. . . . .
cha-khâdiyati . . . . . i [7] eḍa-	. . . . .	. . . . .

[29] Possibly *jitûke*, or *jatûkâ*.

[30] The strokes which make *daḍî* look like *dubhî* are, according to Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.*, due to flaws in the stone.

[31] The apparent *i*-stroke above the last syllable of *kaphaṭa* is, as Dr. Fleet states (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 310), the lower part of the visarga of *Mahâdevaḥ* in the intervening line of later writing just above *kaphaṭa*.

EDICT V—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

kâ-châ sûkalî-châ gabhinî-va-pâyamînâ-va avadh[i]y. p. take[32] [8] pi-cha-kâni âsaṁmâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[;] tuse-sajîve[9] no-jhâpetaviye[;] dâve-anaṭhâye-vâ vihisâye-vâ no-jhâpetaviye[;10] jîvena-jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisâyaṁ-puṁnamâsiyaṁ[11] tiṁni-divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadâye dhuvâye-châ [12] anuposathaṁ-machhe-avadhiye no-pi-viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni[13] nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi jîvanikâyâni[14] no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamîpakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye [15] punâvasune tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye [,16] ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye [.17] Tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye châtuṁmâsipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ[18] lakhane no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasa abhisitena-me etâye[19] a[ṁ]talikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni [.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

. . . . . .

[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kâni [1] . . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]kukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] Tuse-sa[jîve] [2] . . . [taviye] [;] dâve ana[ṭh]âye-vâ[33] vihisâye-vâ no[3] [jhâpetaviye] [;] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye[.] Tîsu châtaṁmâsîsu[34] [4] tisâya[ṁ] puṁnamâ[si] yaṁ tiṁni-divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ [5] paṭipadâ. dhuvâye-cha anuposathaṁ machhe-avadhiye no-pi [6] viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi [7] [yâ]. [a]. [ni]-pi-jîvanikâyâni[35] no-[ha] ṁtaviyâni[36] [.8] Aṭham(î)[37] . . ye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye[9] punâvasune tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye g[o]ne [10] [no-nî] la[khi]taviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi(11)aṁ[ne nîlakhi]yati [no]-nîlakhitaviye [.] Tisâye punâvasune[12] châtuṁmâsiye châtu[ṁmâ] sipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ lakhane[13] no- . viye(.) Yâva-saḍuvîsati[va]sa abhisitena-me etâye[14] aṁtalikâye paṁnavî[sa]ti ṭbaṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

Allahabad.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . sajîve
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . no jhâ
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. .châ[vuda] saṁ paṁchada-[saṁ] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. [tâni] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . tha . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
l[a]khane no kaṭa[viye][.]
[Yâva]-sa . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. [27]
. . . . . .

Radhia, North Side.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi-jâtâni avadhyâni [1] kaṭâni [,] se-yatha suke sâlika alune chakavâke haṁse naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka [2] ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake gaṁgâpuputake saṁkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake [3] paṁnasase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate setakapote gâ-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi [1] jâtâni avadhyâni-katâni [,] se-yathâ[38] [16] suke sâlika alune chakavâke haṁse [2]naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake [3] gaṁgâpuputake saṁkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake paṁnasase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe [4] palasate setaka-

[32] It is, of course, possible to read *avadhây*. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt *avadhiy*, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.

[33] Possibly *anathâye*.

[34] Read *châtuṁmâsîsu*.

[35] This might be read° *nikâyânî*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw.

[36] This looks like *haṁtaviyânî*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

[37] The quantity of the third vowel of *aṭhamî* is not certain.

[38] The *â*-stroke of *yathâ* is not certain.

makapote save chatupade[4] ye-paṭipogaṁ-no-eti[39] na-cha-khâdiyati [.] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâva[5] avadhya potake-cha-kâni âsaṁmâsike [.] Vadhikukuṭe no kaṭaviye [;] tuse-sajîve no jhâpayitaviye[;] dâve [6] anaṭhâyeva vihisâye-va no jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisyaṁ [7] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvâye-cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi [8] viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi-jîvanikâyâni[9] no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye punâvasune tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu[10] sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.12] Tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye châtuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa lakhane-no-kaṭaviye(.12) Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.13]

pote gâmakapote save-chatupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-cha khâdiyati[5] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâva avadhya potake-cha-kâni [6] âsaṁmâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe-no-kaṭaviye[,] tuse-sajîve-no-jhâpayitaviye[.] Dâve-anaṭhâye-va [7] vihisâye-va no-jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena-jîve-no-pusitaviye[.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisiyaṁ [8] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni—divasâni châvudasaṁ-paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvâye-cha-anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye [9] no-pi-viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi[10] jîvanikâyâni no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye punâvasune[11] tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne[2]nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.] Tisâye-punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye chatuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa[13] lakhane-no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati[14] baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

Edict V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,[a] *viz.* parrots, starlings,[b] *alunas*, Brâhmanî ducks, swans,[c] *nandîmukhas*,[40] *gelâṭas*, *jatukas*,[41] *aṁbâkapilikâs*,[d] terrapins,[e] boneless fish,[f] *vedaveyakas*, *gaṁgâpupuṭakas*, *sankuja*-fish,[g] tortoises, porcupines,[h] *paṁnasasas*,[i] *sṛimaras*,[j] bulls set free,(?) *okapiṇḍas*,[k] rhinoceros,[l] grey doves,[m] village-pigeons,[42] and all quadrupeds, which are not used[n] nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old[o]. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;[p] forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);[q] living creatures must not be fed with living creatures[r]. At the (*full moon of each*)[s] of the three seasons and at the full

[39] Read *paṭibhagaṁ*.

[40] According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the Nandîmukha is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhâvaprakâśa*.

[41] *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthâla* or *râgvada*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kâṭkarîs. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, *e.g.*, Gautama, xvii, 34.

[42] *Gâmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.[s] On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.[t] On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,[u] on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,[v] on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals[43] bulls shall not be castrated,[w] nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,[x] the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.[y] Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners[z].

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti*, *játaṁ* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *játi* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter *játa* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(*b*) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*maina*." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sáriká* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marâṭhî Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(*c*) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marâṭhî Dictionary sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *haṁsas* in the palace at Kolhâpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(*d*) M. Senart connects the first part of *aṁbákapiliká* or *aṁbákapilika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)". As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read °*kapiliká*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipîliká*.

(*e*) As *duḍí* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (*h*).

(*f*) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(*g*) M. Senart's suggestion that *saṁkuja* is identical with Sanskrit *śaṅkuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable.

[43] The translation of *sudivasa* by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *śobhana divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divâli, Dasara, and the like may be meant.

(*h*) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—*e.g.*, Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû*, i, 17, 37, Baudhâyana, *Dh. Śâ.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śâ.* xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śâ*, xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, *i.e.*, according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(*i*) According to the analogy of *parṇamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *paṁnasase i.e. parṇaśaśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, *i.e.* a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghâṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(*j*) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *sṛimarâ*. Vâgbhaṭa, *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya Sû.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahâmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jâtakamâlâ* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *sṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bârâsing stag.

(*k*) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahâvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍâ* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilâlamûsikagodhâmuṅgusâ*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mungooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke i.e. oke piṇḍo yeshâṁ te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' *i.e.* 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mungooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, *viz.* of the *godhâ*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (*h*) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(*l*) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pâli Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (*h*). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrâddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(*m*) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullâ*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(*n*) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(*o*) *Ajakânâni* must be separated into *ajaká nâni*. *Nâni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajâ eḍikâścha sûkaryaścha tâ garbhiṇyo dhayantyo vâ avadhyâḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *pîyamânâ* for *pâyamânâ* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *pîyamânâ* is against the Pali idiom. *Pâyati*, not *pîyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mîna-mina* occurs more frequently for *mâna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *minimina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

Potakâś cha [*api cha*, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [*te cha kathaṁbhûtâḥ*] *âshaṇmâsikâḥ* [*avadhyâ iti śeshaḥ*]. The plural *kâni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *âsaṁmâsika* from *âshaṇmâsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *âkâlika*, the adjective belonging to *âkâlam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, *e.g.*, Gautama, *Dh. Śâ.*, xviii, 31.

(*p*) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(*q*) *Vihisâye*, 'to injure living beings" very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(*r*) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(*s*) *Châtuṁmâsî*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *châturmâsî*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *châturmâsî* is taught in Vârttika 7 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṁjñâyâm aṇ*. "*To chaturmâsa*,[44] '*a period of four months*', (*is added*) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, in a (*word of*) technical import." Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu mâseshu bhavâ châturmâsî paurṇamâsî*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *châturmâsî*," and the *Kâśikâ*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Âshâḍha, Kârttika and Phâlguna are meant.[45] More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî* makes on *Dîgha Nikâya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Kômudiyâ châtumâsiniyâ* "on the full-moon (*night or tithi*) of Kârttika (*which is*) *châtumasinî*." It says:—*châtumâsiniyâ ti châtumâsiyâ sâ hi chatuṇṇaṁ mâsâṇaṁ pariyosânabhûtâ châtumâsî idha pana châtumâsinîti vuchchati*. "*Châtumâsiniyâ* is equivalent to *châtumâsiyâ*. For that (*full-*

[44] This must be understood from Vârttika 6: *chaturmâsâṇ ṇyo yajñe tatra bhave*. See the *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

[45] Compare also Haradatta on Âpastamba, *Dharma Sûtra*, I, 10, 1.

moon of *Kârttika*) is the end of four months (*and is*) hence (*called*) *châtumâsî*, but here *châtumâsinî*.[46] It thus appears that the real meaning of *châtumâsî-châtumâsinî* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.[47] Each of them was called a *Chaturmâsam* or *Châturmâsyam*.[48] Both the *Brâhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sûtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the Châturmâsya[49] sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.[50] With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vasso*, over four months, see *Mahâvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Châtuṁmâsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurâ incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurâ Satrap Śoḍâsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhîras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grîshmâḥ-gimhâ*, 'summer,' *varshâḥ-vasâ*, 'the rains,' *hemantâḥ-hemantâ* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gri* or *gṛi*, *va* and *he*. In the inscriptions from Mathurâ and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurâ inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gṛi*, (*i.e. grîshmamâse*)

[46] The Sanskrit equivalent *châturmâsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vârttika 5 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94.

[47] Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

[48] *Châturmâsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *traimâsyam*, *châturvarṇyam*, *châturâśramyam* and so forth, see Vârttika 1 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kâśikâ*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchatuṁmâsaṁ* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *châturmâsyaṁ*, in Pali *châtuṁmâsaṁ*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmâsam*.

[49] The word *châturmâsya* is according to Vârttika 6 on Pâṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmâsam* by the affix *ya*, causing Vṛiddhi, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

[50] See Manu, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Manu says that they are to be offered *ṛitvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ṛitvantâsu râtrishu* for *châturmâsîshu*. Baudhâyana has *ṛitumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sûtras and Brâhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurâ inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamâse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamâse* 4; Mathurâ inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamâse chaturtthe* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamâse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nâsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kaṇheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛigeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurâ it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumâragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kâ[rttikahema]ntamâs[e] divase 20, "on the 20th day of the winter month of Kârttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarâtî villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śâstras* speak only of the *uṇhâlo* (*ushṇakâla*) *varsâd nâ dehâḍâ* or *chomâsum* and *shîyâlo*. The Marâṭhas know only *unhâlâ*, *pâvasâlâ* (*prâvṛish* and *kâla*) and *himvâlâ* (*himakâla*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[51] *dhûpkâl*, *barkhakâl* and *sîtkâl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brâhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sûtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phâlguna, other *Śrauta Sûtras* with the month of Chaitra.[52] The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

	I	II
Grîshmâḥ	Phâlguna. Chaitra. Vaiśâkha. Jyaishṭha.	Chaitra. Vaiśâkha. Jyaishṭha. Âshâḍha.
Varshâḥ	Âshâḍha. Śrâvaṇa. Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada. Âśvina or Âśvayuja.	Śrâvaṇa. Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada. Âśvina. Kârttika.
Hemantâḥ	Kârttika. Mârgaśîrsha. Pausha or Taisha. Mâgha.	Mârgaśîrsha. Pausha. Mâgha. Phâlguna.

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Siyûki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that "according to the holy doctrine of Tathâgata the year is divided into three seasons," the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phâlguna. For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Âshâḍha,"

[51] Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwendfeste*, p. 26f.

[52] See A. Weber: *op. cit.*, p. 329f.

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Ashâḍha," *i.e.* with the day after the full-moon of Śrâvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudî châtumâsinî*, "the full moon of Kârttika with which the season of four months ends".[53] Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dîgha Nikâya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kârttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three-Châtuṁmâsîs." They may be either those of Phâlguna, Âshâḍha and Kârttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrâvaṇa and Mârgaśîrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tisyaṁ* (R) and *tisiyaṁ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisî*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛiddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisâyaṁ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisâ*, i.e. *tissâ* (*tishyâ*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyâ-pûrṇamâsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhuvâye* which stands before *anuposathaṁ* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvâya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposathaṁ* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, *viz.* :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sûtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharmasûtras* and *Dharmaśâstras*[54] a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

[53] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Châtumâsinî* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, see above, p. 261.

[54] See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.[55] According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasûtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night[56] and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amârî*,[57] Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Châturmâsî* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Châturmâsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays[58] on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprâsâdavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kârttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, *i.e.* the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dîpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kârttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phâlguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kârttika and Âshâḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarâyaṇa, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṁkrânti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(*t*) The term *nâgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Châlahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyathâ pi brâhmaṇa nâgavaniko nâgavanaṁ paviseyya, so passeya nâgavane mahantaṁ hatthipadaṁ dîghato cha âyataṁ tiriyañ cha vitthataṁ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brâhmana, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

[55] Vishṇu, lxxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

[56] Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

[57] Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śatruñjaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jiñahaṁsa Sûri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hîravijaya Sûri.

[58] Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bâṇa's *Harshacharita*.[59] The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhâtithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nâgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(*u*) M. Senart's explanation of *âṭhamîpakhâye* by "*pakshasyâshṭamyâm* on the eighth of (*each*) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Âchârâṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamîpakkheṇa* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, *e. g.* the Deśî *valayabâhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśîkosha*, VII, 52) for *bâhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *vârabâṇa*, 'a protection against arrows, *i. e.* 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(*v*) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *puṇya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Bṛihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(*w*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nîlakhiyati* by *nirlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśî word[60] *ṇelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(*x*) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sûtras*, *châturmmâsipakha*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmâsî pûrṇimâ*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kâtyâyana uses *mâghîpaksha* for the dark half of Mâgha, and Lâṭyâyana *phâlgunîpaksha* for the bright half of Phâlguna.[61] If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(*y*) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brâhmans considered the new-moon day of Phâlguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śâṅkhâyana Gṛihya Sûtra*, III, 10.)

[59] See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

[60] See Hemachandra *Deśîkosha*, iv, 44, and *Pâiyalachchhî*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

[61] See the *Petersburg Dictionaries* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.

(*z*) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the *Bombay Gazette Summary* on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p. 285, l. 25.

Edict VI.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] duvâḍasa[1] vasa-abhisitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ lokasâ[2] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭâ taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpovâ[.3] Hevaṁ-lokasâ hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha-iyaṁ[4] nâtisu hevaṁ-patiyâsaṁ-nesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[;5] ki-maṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ avahâmî-ti tatha-cha-vidahâmi[.] Hemevâ [6] savanikâyesu paṭivekhâmi[.] Savapâsaṁḍâ-pi-me-pûjitâ[7] vi-vidhâya-pûjâyâ[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atunâ pachûpagamane[8] se-me-mokhyamate[.] Saḍuvîsativasa abhisitena-me[9] iyam-dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ[.10]

Dehli-Mirat.

Missing.

Allahabad.

[27] . . . . Piyadasî lâ-
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .i pâ-
. .[.] Hevaṁ . . . [28]
hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha .
. . .[tisu] . . . . . .
. . âsaṁne[su] hevaṁ apaka-
. .[;] kimaṁ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
da[hâ]mi[.] Hevaṁmeva sava
. .yesu paṭivekhâmi[.29] Sa-vapâsaṁḍâ pi-me-pûjitâ vividhâ-ya pûjâyâ[.] Echuiyaṁatanâ pachupagamane se me mukhyâ-mute[.] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. lipi likhâpitâ-ti[.30]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi likhâpita lokasa[14] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpova[.][62] Hevaṁ-lokasa-hitasukhe-ti paṭivekhâmi[15] athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâ-saṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[,] kiṁmaṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ-âvahâmî ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi[.16] Hem-eva-savanikâyesu-paṭivekhâmi [. Savapâsaṁḍâ-pi-me-pûjita vivi dhâya-pûjâya[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atana-pachûpagamane 17 se-me-mukhyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati ya-sâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi khâpita[.18]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁ-mavaḍhi-pâpova[.] Hevaṁ lo-kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti paṭive-khâmi athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâsaṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu [,18(3)] kiṁmaṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ âvahâmî-ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi [] Hem-eva savanikâyesu pa-tivekhâmi [.19(4)] Savapâsaṁ-ḍâ-pi-me-pûjita vividhâya-pûjâya [.] E-chu-iyaṁ atana pachû-pagamane [20(5)] se-me-mo-khyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati-vasâ-bhisitena-m iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi likhâpita[.21(6)]

[62] The stroke which makes *pâpovâ* look like *pipovâ* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,[a] I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).[b] (*Saying unto myself*) "the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;[c]—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them[d] to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.[e] I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.[63] But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) 'the approach through one's own free will.[f] After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) *Dhaṁmalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, "when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order," and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years." The earlier part of Piyadasi's spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

(1) After the conquest of Kaliṅga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).

(2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).

(3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhaṁma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).

(4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(*b*) *Apahaṭâ* (D. S.) or *apahaṭa* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahṛitya* or *apahṛitvâ*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*[64] (*Jâtaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvâ*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Taṁ*, the object of *apahaṭa*, stands for *tad*, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to *pâpovâ* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

[63] Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

[64] The verse runs as follows :—*Saṁkappam etaṁ paṭiladdha pâpaṁ achchâhitaṁ kâmma karosi luddaṁ.*

krit as follows:—*Saḥ[loka ityarthaḥ] tad [kriyamâṇam adharmam ityarthaḥ] apahṛitya [parihṛityetyarthaḥ] tâṁ tâṁ dharmavṛiddhiṁ prâpnuyât.*

(*c*) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas. By "those who are near," Piyadasi probably means his Lajûkas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. "Those who are far," *apakaṭha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhaṁma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(*d*) M. Senart has recognised that *kimaṁ* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kiṁti*. As R. M. read plainly *kiṁmaṁ*, I would suggest that *kimaṁ* too stands for *kimmaṁ*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, *i.e. kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(*e*) *Nikâya*, 'body corporate,' refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikâyâ* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikâyâ* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(*f*) *Pachchûpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean 'the return to,' but may also be taken as 'the approach towards.' The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi's recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—"They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—'that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.'"

Dehli-Sivalik Pillar.

EDICT VII, 1.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:]ye-atikaṁtaṁ [11]
aṁtalaṁ lâjâne husu[,]hevaṁ ichhisu[:]kathaṁ-jane[12]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ[?] No-chu-jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ[13]
vaḍhithâ[.] Etaṁ devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] esa-me[14]
huthâ[,] atikaṁtaṁ-cha aṁtalaṁ hevaṁ ichhisu lâjâne kathaṁ-jane[15]
anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;] no-cha-jane anulupâyâ[16]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhithâ[;] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyâ[66][,17]
kina-su jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;]kina-su-kâni [18]
abhyuṁnâmayehaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ-ti[?] Etaṁ-devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ [19]
âhâ[:]esa-me huthâ[,] dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpayâmi dhaṁmânusathini[20]
anus[â]sâmi[66][;] etaṁ-jane sutu anupaṭîpajîṣati abhyuṁnamisati[,21]

[66] The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyâ* stands above the line.

[66] This might be read *anusisâmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *â*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusâsâmi* is also used by Aśoka elsewhere, *e.g.* Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]

EDICT VII, 2.

dhaṃmavaḍhiyâ-cha bâḍhaṁ vaḍhisati[.] Etâye-me aṭhâye dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpitâni dhaṁmânusathini vividhâni ânapitâni yath[â me pul]isâ-pi[67] bahune[68] janasi âyatâ ete paliyovadisaṁti-pi pavithalisaṁti-pi[.] Laj[û]kâ-pi[69] bahukesu pânasatasahasesu âyatâ tepi-me ânapitâ[:] hevaṁ-cha hevaṁ-cha paliyovadâtha [1]

janaṁ dhaṁmayu[ta]ṁ[70][.] [D]e[v]ânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ-âhâ[:] etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne dhaṁmathaṁbhâni-kaṭâni[,] dhaṁmanahâmâtâ-kaṭâ[,]dhaṁma[s]â[van]e[71]-kaṭe[.]Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhâ[:] magesu-pi-me nigohâni lopâpitâni[:] chhâyopagâni hosaṁti pasumunisânaṁ [;] aṁbâvaḍikyâ lopâpitâ [;]aḍhak[o]s[i]kyâni-pi-me-udupânâni[2]

khânâpâpitâni [;] niṁsidhiyâ-cha[72] kâlâpitâ[;]âpânâni-me bahukâni tata-tata kâlâpitâni paṭîbhogâye pasumunisânaṁ[.] La[huke chu][73] esa paṭîbhoge nâma[74] [.] Vividhâyâ-hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimehi-pi lâjîhi mamayâ-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imaṁ-chu dhaṁmânupaṭîpatî anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ti[;] etadathâ-me[3]

esa-kaṭe[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ âhâ[:] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-pi-me t[e]-bahuvidhesu[75] aṭhesu ânugahikesu viyâpaṭâ-se pavajîtanaṁ-cheva gihithânaṁ-cha[;]sava-[pâsaṁ]ḍesu-pi-cha[76] viyâpaṭâ-se[.] Saṁghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [;] hemeva bâbhanesu Âjîvikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]

ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti[.] Nigaṁṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti [;] nânâ-pâsaṁḍesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [.] Paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭîvisiṭhaṁ tesu-tesu te-[t]e [ma]hâmâtâ[.]. Dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-chu-me etesu-cheva viyâ[pa]ṭâ savesu-cha aṁnesu pâsaṁḍesu[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhâ[:5]

ete-chá aṁne-cha bahukâ mukhâ dânavisagasi viyâpaṭa-se mama-cheva devinaṁ-cha[;] savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena â[kâ]lena[75] tâni tâni tuṭhâyatan[â]ni paṭî-[pâdayaṁti] hida-cheva disâsu-cha[.] Dâlakânaṁ-pi-cha-me kaṭe aṁnânaṁ-cha devikumâlânaṁ ime dânavisagesu viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti[6]

dhaṁmâpadânaṭhâye dhaṁmânupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhaṁmâpadâne dhaṁmapaṭîpati-cha yâ-iyaṁ dayâ dâne sache sochave madave sâdha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati-ti[.]

[67] Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha . . . i* and the left-hand curve of *sâ*, while the right half of *sâ* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulisâ-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

[68] *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punâvasune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

[69] The quantity of the second vowel of *lajûkâ* is not certain.

[70] The last syllable of *dhaṁmayutaṁ* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

[71] The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the *â*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

[72] The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhaṁmayu* and *taṁ* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *niṁsi ḍhiyâ* (not *ḍhayâ*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

[73] The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing: Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kho esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kâlsî), *lahukâ vu kho sâpiti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame*.

[74] The *nâ* of *nâma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

[75] Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *viyâpaṭâ* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

[76] The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.

Devânam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lâjâ hevâṁ-âhâ[:] yâṇi-hi-kâṇi-chi mamiyâ sâdhavâṇi kaṭâṇi taṁ-loke anûpatîpaṁne taṁ-cha anuvidhiyaṁti[;]tena vaḍhitâ-cha[7]
vaḍhisaṁti-cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu sususâyâ vayomahâlakânaṁ anupaṭîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanesu kapanavalâkesu âva dâsabhaṭakesu saṁpaṭîpatiyâ[.] Devânaṁ-piy[e Pi]yadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] munisânaṁ-chu yâ-iyam dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ duvehi-yeva âkâlehi dhaṁmaniyamena-cha nijhatiyâ-cha[.8]
Taṭa-chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame[,] nijhatiyâ-va bhuye[.] Dhaṁmaniyame-chu-kho esa ye-me iyam-kaṭe imâni-cha imâni[77] jâtâni avadhiyâni[,] aṁnâni-pi-chu bahu[kâni] dhaṁmaniyamâni yâni-me kaṭâni[.] Nijhatiyâ-va-chu bhuye munisânaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ avihiṁsâye bhutânaṁ[9]
anâlaṁbhâye pânânaṁ [.] Se-etaye aṭhâye iyaṁ kaṭe [,] putâpapotike chaṁda-masuliyike hotu-ti [,] tathâ-cha anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ṭi [.] Hevaṁ-hi anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ hidata[pâla]te âladhe hoti [.] Satavisativasâbhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi likhâpâ-pitâ-ti [.] Etaṁ devânaṁ-piye âhâ :] iyaṁ [10]
dhaṁmalibi aṭa aṭhi silâthaṁbhâni-vâ silâphalakâni-vâ ṭata kaṭaviyâ ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyâ [11].

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,'[a] But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this[b] (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (thought) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up[c] some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?"

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (*thought*) came to me "Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,[d] and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law." For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajûkas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me,[e] "Instruct (*my*) loyal people[f] in this way and in that."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Having regard to this same matter,[78] I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law."

[77] Read *imâni cha*, as the sense requires.

[78] *Etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne* (*i.e., anvavekshyamânam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *avijitaṁ hi vijinamane*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamânena* (*i.e. anvavekshamâṇena*) was what Aśoka really wrote.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.[79] I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*[g] and I have ordered rest-houses[h] to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations[i] to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Saṁgha[j]; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjîvikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigaṁṭhas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials[80] are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment[k] both here (*in Pâṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes[l] in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus[81] grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation[m]. But, among these two[82] the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

[79] Regarding the short *a* of °*vaḍikyâ* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *aṁbâvaḍikâ* may stand for *aṁbâvaḍḍikâ*. Regarding the long *â* of *ambâ*, see below, note 20.

[80] *Mukhâ* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukkhâ* and corresponds to *mukhyâḥ* 'chiefs,' *i.e.* 'officials of high rank.'

[81] *Thus*, *i.e.* in the manner desired by the king.

[82] *Tatâ*, *i.e.* *tatra*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-cha* is equivalent to *tayostu*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;[83] but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and "great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*) :—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *kathaṁ* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *káni* has more frequently.

(*b*) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etaṁ* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische, Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(*c*) *Abhyumnámayehaṁ* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rámáyaṇa* under *b*). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(*d*) *Abhyumnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyumnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(*e*) *Lajúka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *áyatá* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(*f*) *Paliyovadátha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(*g*) *Aḍhakosikyáni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *árdhakrośikíyáni*. The krośa or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyúti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultáná kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.

[83] See above, Pillar Edict V.

(*h*) *Nimsiḍhiyá* no doubt stands for *nisiḍhiyá*, just like the Pali *mahimsa* for *mahisa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyá*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nâgârjunî Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vâshanishidiyâye*. Both *nimsiḍhiyá* and *nishidiyá* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyá*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishíd*. The lingual *ḍha* of *nimsiḍhiyá* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishídyá*. The Jainas use closely allied words *niśídhi*, *nishiḍhi* and *nisiḍhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsiḍhiyá* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmârtham* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadâta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapâna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(*i*) *Ápâna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapá*.

(*j*) *Saṁgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Âjîvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigaṁṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṁ*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativiśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Dict.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhûmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(*k*) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuṭhâyatanâni*, *i.e. tushṭyâyatanâni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭí* [*pâdayaṁti*] is self-evident.

(*l*) *Devikumála* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' *i.e.* of such a lady who has the title *devî*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, *i.e.* his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(*m*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nijhati* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyâi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyâsanâ* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(*n*) In *putápapotike* the nominative of the plural *putá* takes the place of the stem just as in *aṁbá-vaḍikyá*, above *l.* 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurâ, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jât.* iv, 184, 18, *sakhâbhariyaṁ*, 'the wife of a friend.'

XXI.—THE MAHÂBAN PRAŚASTÍ OF SAMVAT 1207.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurâ Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapâla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurâ, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapâla, because he had obtained lately from Mahâban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahâban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile[1] of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurâ Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahâban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *dâl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahâban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahâban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments[2] from the railway-workmen at Mathurâ.

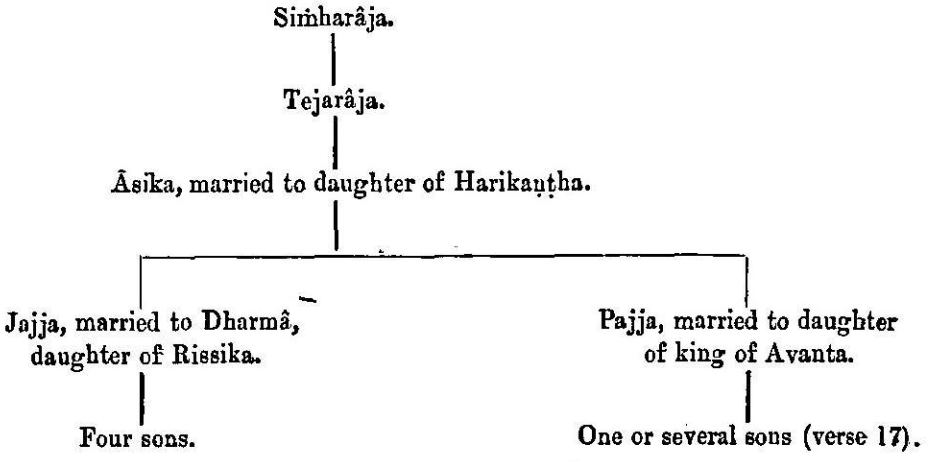
I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahâban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapâla, not Vijayapâla. And he may belong to the Yaduvaṁśî dynasty of Bayânâ-Śrîpathâ (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

[1] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. x.

[2] The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *parameśvara-śrî-Sîlâdityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

Mahâban shows the name of Ajayapâla's successor Haripâla and the date Saṁvat 1227. The pedigree of the Râjput who built the temple now stands as follows:—



TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. ओं ॥ ओं [ग]णपतये[3] नमः ।
दिश्यात्स वः कैरवकु — — —
— यांसि[4] दंतो द्विरदाननस्य [।]
विजित्य विघ्नानिव — ो — शंके (?)
मुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [॥१]

L. 2. [शौ]रेः कज्जलकांतिरस्त्वसिलता भूत्यै र— — —:[5] करा-
त्कालिंदीव समुद्गता सरभसं या स्वर्द्धुनीस्पर्द्धया ।
यत्रा[न्त]र्ज्जलमानुषीव कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डो-

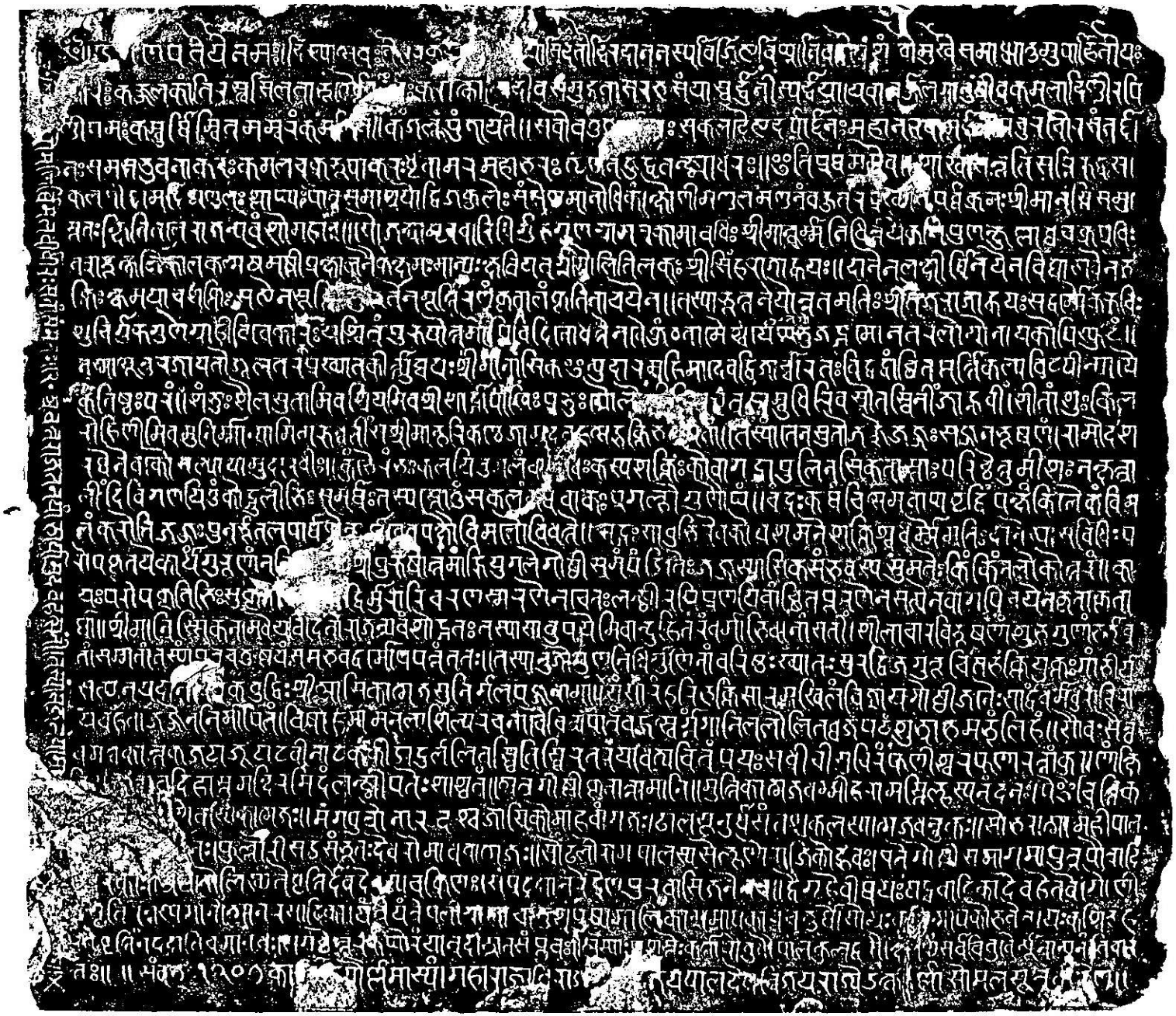
L. 3. पमः
कस्तुर्व्विंम्बितमम्बरं क[मलिनी]किंजल्कपुंजायते[6] ॥ [२]
स वोवतु ज — — —: सकलदैत्यदर्पार्द्दनः
महानर[क]मर्द्द[नः] प्रचुरचौरसंतर्द्द-

L. 4. नः [।]
समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः
धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुद्धृतच्छाधरः ॥ [३][7]
इति प्रथममेव ॥
शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निरुद्धस-

L. 5. कलप्रोद्दामदिग्मण्डलः
श्लाघ्यः पा[न्थ]समाश्रयो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिकं ।

[3] Read गणपतये. On Dr. Führer's impression the *e*-stroke above the *ta* has almost disappeared.
[4] Restore कैरवकुड्मलाभः श्रेयांसि.
[5] Restore चिरं वः.
[6] Read किंजल्कपुंजायते ।.
[7] Read 'दर्प हर्नी ;—भूषाकरो ;— °महाभरसृ° ;—Restore जनार्द्दनः.

MAHABAN PRAŚASTI OF SAṀVAT 1207.



From Gen. Sir A Cunningham's impression. *Scale: 1-3rd of original.*

क्षोणीमण्डलमण्डनं बहुतरप्र[ख्यात]पर्व्वक्रमः
श्रीमानस्ति समु-

L. 6. भ्रतः क्षितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [४]
सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधिः
श्रीमान्धर्म्मनिधिर्न्नयैकनिपुणक्षुण्णाध्वचक्रप्रधिः [।]

L. 7. तत्राभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमषीप्रक्षालनैकश्रमः
मान्यः क्षत्रियवर्ग्गमौलितिलकः श्रीसिंहराजाह्वयः ॥ [५][8]
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्व्विनयेन विद्या
भावेन भ-

L. 8. क्तिः क्षमया च शक्तिः [।]
सत्येन सूक्ति — — तेन मूर्त्ति-
रलंकृतालं कृतिना च येन [॥६॥][9]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाह्वयः
सद्धर्म्मैकरुचिः

L. 9. शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राही विवेकाकरः ।
यश्चित्रं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-
मैश्वर्य्यप्यभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७][10]

L. 10. तस्मात्सूनुरजायतोज्वलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्युच्चयः
श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्च्चारतः [।]
विद्वद्वांच्छितपूर्त्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठः परं ॥

L. 11. — — — — — रोमणिर्व्विमलधीर्धीरः सतां संमतः ॥[11] [८]
शंभुः शैलसुतामिव श्रियमिव श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणिः प्रभुः
पौलो[मोमिव] द्वत्रहाम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्विनीं जाह्नवीं ।
शीतांशुः किल

L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्म्मान्यामिवारुन्धतीं
स श्रीमान्हरिकण्ठजामुदवहत्सङ्गक्तिभ — — तां ॥ [९][12]
तस्यां तेन सुतो जज्ञे जज्ञः सज्जनभूषणं ।
रामो दश-

L. 13. रथेनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधीः ॥ [१०]
कुंभैरंभः कलयितुमलं वा[रि]धेः कस्य शक्तिः
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ताः परिच्छेत्तुमीशः [।]
नक्षत्रा-

[8] According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमाञ्कर्म्म°, but Führer's gives plainly °धर्म्म

[9] Restore सूक्तिः सुकृतेन मूर्त्ति°.

[10] The second नयो° and the second क्ष of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

[11] The last Pâda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore क्षोणीपालशिरोमणि°.

[12] Read श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणिः.—Restore सङ्गक्तिभारानतां.

L. 14. लों दिवि गणयितुं कोङ्गुलीभिः समर्थः
तस्य स्तोतुं सकल[म]य वा कः प्रगल्भः गुणौघं [॥११।
चंद्रः कथंचित्समवाप्य वृद्धिं
पक्षं किलैकं विम-
L. 15. लं करोति [।]
जज्जः पुनर्भूतलपार्व्व — —
द्वावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२][13]
सङ्गः साधुभिरेव कोपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्म्मे मतिः
दानेभ्यासविधिः प-
L. 16. रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरूणां न[तिः।]
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमांघ्रियुगले गोष्ठी समं पंडितैः
जज्जस्यासिकसंभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥ [१३][14]
का-
L. 17. यः परोपकृतिभिः सुकृतो ◡ — ◡
— द्विर्मुरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेतः [।]
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवांच्छितपूरणेन
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
L. 18. र्थाः ॥ [१४][15]
श्रीमान्निस्सिकनामधेयविदितो राजन्यवंशोद्भवः
तस्यासावुपयेमिवान्दुहितरं धर्माभिधानां सतीं ।
शीलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव्र-
L. 19. तां सम्मतां
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवद्धर्मोपपन्नं ततः ॥ [१५]
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठः
ख्यातः सुरद्विजगुरूचितभक्तियुक्तः [।]
गांभीर्य-
L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विवे]कबुद्धिः
श्रीआसिकात्मजसुनिर्मलपज्जनामा ॥ × [१६]
अवन्तराजतनयां भार्यामुद्वहत्सतीं ।
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ◡ — ◡ ⏑ ॥ × [१७][16]
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमखिलं विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनैः
सार्द्धं धर्मधुरां चिरा-
L. 21. य बृहता जज्जेन निर्मापितं ।
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनल्पशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं बृह-

[13] The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्व्वणेन्दुः.
[14] Restore भक्तिः श्रीपुरुषो°.
[15] Restore सुकृतोदयेन बुद्धिर्भु°.
[16] Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.

स्वर्गंगानिललोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रंलिहं ॥ [१८]
सौव:सैन्ध-

L. 22. वमन्धकान्तकजटाजूटाटवीनाटक-
क्रीडादुर्ललितस्थितिस्थिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पय: [।]
सध्रोची सुचिरं फणीश्वरफणारत्नांकुराणां चि-

L. 23. f—
°— —वदिहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपते: शाश्वतं ॥ [१९]
अत्र गोष्ठीकृतान्नामानि ॥
सुत्तिकात्मजधम्मीह रामस्तिल्हस्य नंदन: ।
पेइचित्तक-

L. 24. — — ◡ × × णो वस्सिकात्मज: ॥ [२०]
मंगपुत्रो नारदश्च जासिको माहवांगज: ।
ढोलसूनुर्वसंतश्च कलस्यात्मजधन्तुक: ॥ [२१]
सोभरात्मा महीपाल:

L. 25. × × × × ◡ — ◡ न: ।
फुल्लोरो सडसंभूत: देधरो माधवात्मज: ॥ [२२]
सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हणो राजिकोद्भव: ।
एते गोष्ठीं समागम्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]का: ॥ [२३]
[अथा]तो लिख्यते वृत्तिर्देवदेवस्य चक्रिण: ।
संप्रदत्ता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने[न च] ॥ [२४]
द्वे गृहे वीथय: षट्त्र वाटिका देवहेतवे ।
गोणी-

L. 27. [प्र]सृतिरन्नस्य मानोन्मानरसादिका ॥ [२५]
यंत्रे यंत्रे पली [ग्राह्या] चा[तुश] पुष्पमालिकात् ।
मापकाच्च चतुर्थांसो य: क[ंचि]न्मापको भवेत [।२६
य: कश्चित् ह-

L. 28. रतं वृत्तिं न ददाति च मानव: ।
स गच्छेन्नर[कं] घोरं यावदाभूतसंप्लव: ॥ [२७][19]
अस्या: [प्र]शस्ते: कर्त्तारौ वुधौ पालकुलधरौ ।
[चं]तव्यं सर्वविवुधैर्न्यूनान्यूनं विचार-

L. 29. त: ॥ १८]
संवत् १२०७ कार्ति° — पौर्णमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —
जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उत्कीर्णा सोमलसूत्र[धारि]ण ॥

[17] Restore चितिर्यावत्तावदि°.
[18] चातुश can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्थो शो.
[19] The last word is probably meant for यावदाभूतसंप्लवं.

XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

By Paul Horn, Ph. D., Strassburg.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Ṣûba of Dihlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdîds, etc.*, except in the first six inscriptions.

1.—Bhâgalpûr.

The history of Bhâgalpûr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmûd Shâh ibn Ibrâhim Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâgalpûr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnâma, III*, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription[1] is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rânî Bîbî in Mâṇda Roga Maḥalla, Bhâgalpûr; it is no longer *in situ;* the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النّبي عليه السّلام من بني مسجدًا فى الدّنيا بني الله له قصرا فى الجنّة فى زمن ملك العادل محمود
شاه السّلطان بنا كرده اين مسجد خانمعظم خرشيد خان سر نوبت غير محليّان فى العاشر من [2]جمادالاوّل سنه
خمسين و ثمانماية

Translation.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdi'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

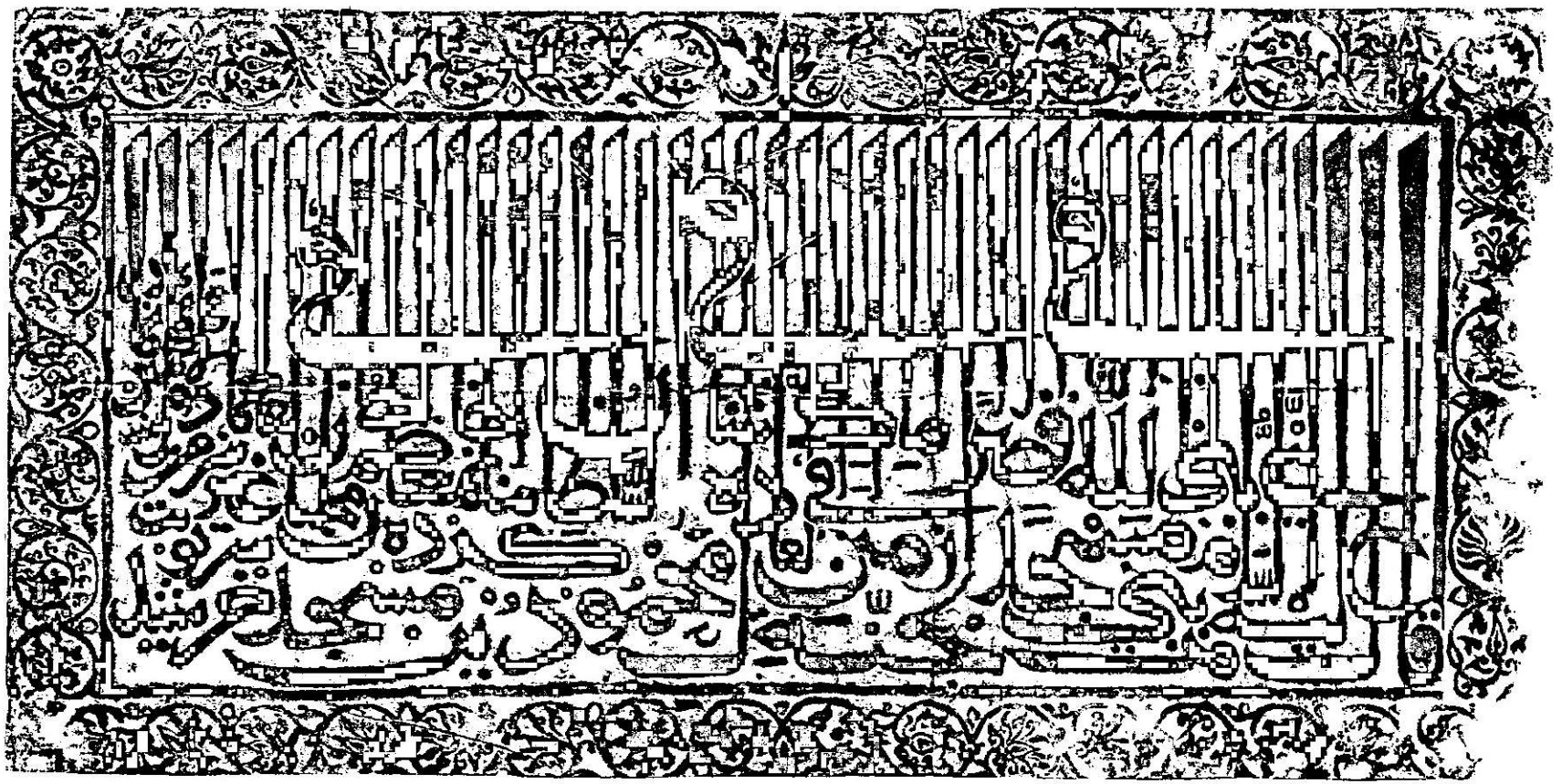
The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title *sar-î naubat-î ghair-maḥallîân* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargâh* called the Maskan-î Barârî or Makhdûm Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

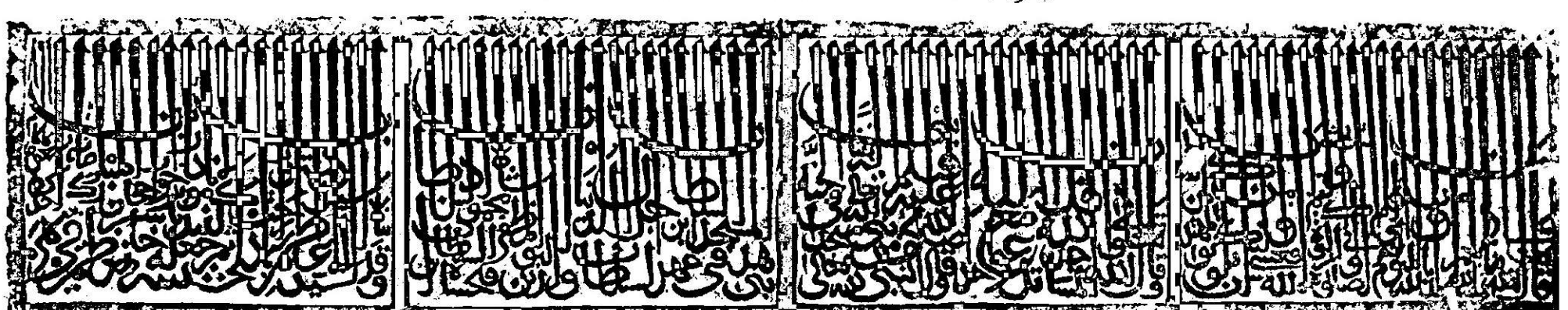
[1] See facsimile No. 1.

[2] The same form occurs, *e.g.*, in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.



NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



From J. D. Beglar's impressions *Scale: 1-5th of original.*

pûr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله

ابوبكر صديق رضي الله عليه | عمر فاروق رضي الله عليه | عثمان رضي الله عليه | علي كرّم الله وجهه

جون اضعف عباد الله خواجه احمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدسي القاب شاهزادهٔ عالميان شاه پرويز جهانگير بخدمت فوجداري سركار منگير آمده بود به بناى عمارت اين روضهٔ منوّره توفيق يافت سنه ۱۰۳۲ هزار سي و دو

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmân—may God be pleased with him! 'Alî—may God dignify his face![3].

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Aḥmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].'

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Ṣafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal[4] in *jâgîr* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (*Iqbâlnâma-î Jahângîrî*, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (*Âîn-î-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyûl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسي افسوس بملك بقا
رخت سفر بست زفاني سراى
از سر اندوه بگو سال فوت
روح مجسّم زجهان رفت واى

Metre,—*Sarî'*:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andûh*, *i.e.* the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *târîkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

[3] The four caliphs.

[4] In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, *for* Bihâr *read* Bengal.

The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفیر یافت بر لبش این دیر هم از سعي او تعمیر یافت
خواستم تاریخ هجر (؟) عسوي (*sic.*) سازم بیان تا بود بر لوح سنگ از سال تعمیرش نشان
ناگهان هاتف زروی شادماني لفظ بود بعد لفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم فزود
گهان در گوش خاطر زد سروشي بس عجب دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

TRANSLATION.

Metre,—*Ramal:*

By (order of) Ziyâ-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word '*Bûd*' after the word '*Dîdah*' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *târîkh* which runs therefore '*Dîdah bûd kam*' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*bûd*)—*i.e.*—1208-9H.

Ziyâ-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhâgalpûr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shâhjangî (Shâhbâz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhâgalpûr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faslî. As a memorial of that fact a Hindûstânî inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghât, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.[5]

II.—HAZRAT PAṆḌUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇḍuah belong to the *Âdîna* (*i.e.* Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, son of Shams-addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇḍuah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorân*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

[5] There is another rubbing of a Hindûstâni inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tâlâv* and a *sardâ ṭayyâr*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في ايا[م] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الواثق بتاييد الرحمن ابوالمجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [و] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

'The edifice of this Jâmi' Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).'

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyâm*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sâdis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (*and*) before *sab'ín* or to read the *va* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdîna mosque was finished; the *Riyâs* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, *e.g.* the Jâmi' Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Âdîna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).[6]

6. Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bâdshâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrâb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorán*, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's *Journal of a Route from Rájmahál to Gaur, A. D. 1810*, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorán*, on the northern, the combined verses[7] Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

[6] I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharîf of Balkh in Dihlî,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

[7] The exordial phrase is— قال الله تعالى عن قائل رجل من متكلم ("God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator)".

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xliv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtiḥa*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

III.—Gaur.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة بنى هذ المسجد
فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذ المسجد خان اعظم و خاقانمعظم
مرجاه خان اتابك ذات اعلي بتاريخ [8]هردهم ماه مبارک رمضان سنه خمس و ثمانين و ثمانمايه

Translation.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said; 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,[9] Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (*17th November 1480*).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

[8] *i.e.* هژدهم.

[9] This reiteration occurs also on coins.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1′ 8″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالي انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة
واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله فعسي اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا في الجنة مثله وعمارة هذا المسجد الجامع

فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادت ارحم المسلمين والمسلمات معلى كلمات الحق
والحسنات المويد بتاييد الديان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان غوث الاسلام والمسلمين
علاء الدنيا والدين

ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصا مخلصا
متوكلا على الله الولي محمد بن علي المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالي
فى الدنيا والاخرة وتاريخه الميمون في الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارك رجب رجب قدره سنه [ه ... ...

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorân*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i manṣûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . . .'

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted *29*. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1′ 4″)—

بنى هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه
السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنه ثمان عشر وتسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).[10]

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6′ 5″ by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, *etc.*, and in three circles the words *Yá raḥmán, yá Allâh, yá raḥîm* are inscribed; the second measures 2′ 4″ by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2′ 3″ by 1′ 6″.)—

قال الله تعالي من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفه المطهره التى فيها حجر [11]فيه اثر قدم رسول
صلى الله عليه و سلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصرالدّنيا والدين ابوالمظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنه سبع و ثلثين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâṣiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyáz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasúl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *ásitána*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2′ 1″ by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالي انّ المساجد لله باني هذا الباب خانجهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجه سنه سبعين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).[12]

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, *14* years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orîsâ (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdî Khân, *amîr al umará* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badauní*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânan (*Ma'ásir*, I, 649).

[10] This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 88, No. 19.
[11] There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.
[12] Published in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.

13. From the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1′ 4″ by 2 in.), which contains *Qorân*, Sûr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*]*li'l ḥimâri*).

IV.—MAHDÎPÛR (VILLAGE).[13]

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdîpûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4′ 4″ by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله

فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين

وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى

مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة

بني هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن

محمود شاه السلطان

وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثمر جعله سر كنبد مولانا برخوردار ابن خانمعظم

ناسر خان فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنه احدى و تسعين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," *etc.* (*Qorân* Sûr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing!—has said "He who builds a mosque," *etc.*

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkhurdâr, son of the exalted Khân Tâj Khân. In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891 (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhâkâ, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhâmrâi, north of Dhâkâ, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhâkâ District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunârgâon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sâtgânw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5′ 7″ by 4 in.), one line—

جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره

وشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم الواثق بالملك المنان خانمعظم دولتخان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه

في سنه اربع ... ...

[13] See facsimile No. 2.

TRANSLATION.

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fatḥ Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficient Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)![14] In the year . . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1′ 5″ by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدّنيا والدّين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم ظفر خان بن ملك ...

... سر نوبت ... ... در شهر ربيع الاخر [؟] فى التاريخ سنه ... ...

TRANSLATION.

['Alâ-]addunyâ waddîn' Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabî' al âkhir, in the year . . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shêrpûr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4′ 7″ by 2′ 4″ by 3″) bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bâdishâhî masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مطهر العجائب

مانده روز دوشنبه ۲۴ ماه ذوالحج سنه ۹۸۹

یا سعاد دواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اعار کرد دوم روز

سه شنبه ۲۶ شهر خال فرار مسجد مبادد فقیر عبد الصمد در کنویر

شتروام ازهوا فرود امدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض

کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس رفاه داردم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین

مسجد اشانه حکم خواهند فرمود فقیر گفت خدا به امنا مسجد

نورد مبادا از مردم زمانه خیر خدا ترسد کعبند هرکه دیده

[14] In the Qorân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.

و دانسته خواهد رساند درو خواهد رسید زیاده ازین
از واهب العطایات معلوم کردد العرض سلام
کردند و در هوا سدند حدوان عدیر با طهر اعتماد
بعد از اتمام مسجد اهتمام عرض که به تجاره کدوبر
... ...

این جوهر تلخان قاقسال

مراد حال

این مسجد بنا کرد علیشان رفیع

TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (*19th January 1582*), the Nawâb Mîrzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqîr*' Abdaṣṣamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction[15] they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'ṣûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*ḥamâm*)-*î ḥaram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

[15] This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also '*himuhâwabhâd ishtiqbâldâsht*'—*Ma'âsir al Umarâ* vol. I, p. 121.

The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bâdishâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2′ 3″ by 1′ 5″.)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ... ... بالخير
قال صدر جهان بن ميان جيو بن يازيد بن داود
بنى مسجدا في بلد شيرپور بمتاع التوكل على الله الغفور
بحين شاه جهان جهانكير مشهور سنه الف واثنى و اربعون بالشكور
قال الله تعالى و من يتوكل على الله بني مسجد في دور شاه جهان
فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و سوبه (*sic*) بنكاله معظم خان
قد جعل الله لكل شى قدرا
قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى سنه الف و اثنى و اربعون
مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى له الله تعالى سبعين
قصرا فى الاخرة سنه الف و اثنى و اربعين الله كافى فى كل مسلمين

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . . . . .

Ṣadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the *Ṣûba* of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khân in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Ṣadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Ṣadr (*Sadr-i Jahân*) as Ṣadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up petry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Âshâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubâb*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allâhâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpûr Mîraja). The *Aîn-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmânshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dâms*. Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—Bihâr.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, *viz.*, from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî Governor of Sunârgâoṇ, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihlî empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihlî. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنى هذ المسجد فى دولة السّلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابى المظفر فيروز شاه السّلطان وايام امارة
خاقان الزمان المخاطب بخانخان

ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله ولكرمه الراجى اصغر الخلائق بهرام بن هاجي تاب الله عليه وغفر
لوالديه فى العشر من رجب سنة خمس و عشرة سبعمائة

Translation.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtim Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (*1st October 1315*).'

Hâtim Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription[16] (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1′ 10″—.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

شد بتجديد عمارة اين دروازه عالى عالم‌آراى واين طاق رفيع فلك‌سائى

درايام خلافت خليفه جهاندار اسمان بارگاه خدايگان سلاطين

[16] See facsimile No. 3.

کیهان فرمان‌فرمای عالمیان ذی‌الامن والامان الاهل الایمان وارث ملك سلیمان ابوالمجاهد محمد بن
لعلقشاه السلطان خلد خلافته وسلطانه فی الغرة من الشهرالمبارک رمضا[ن سنه] اثنی و ثلثین وسبعمائه

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalîfa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (*27th May, 1332*).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal* of the *As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ two lines—

بعهد دولت شاه جهان‌گیر [17]کی بادا هر بهار ملك نوروز
شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان کي بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
ملك سیرت ملك بیّو براهیم کی بد در دین جو ابراهیم کین توز
بماه ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از مهر درین سوز
بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سه تاریخ مسافر شد ملك در جنّت این روز
خداوندا بفضل خویش بر وی کني آسان حساب آخرین روز

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (*days were passed*) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (*20th January 1353*), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

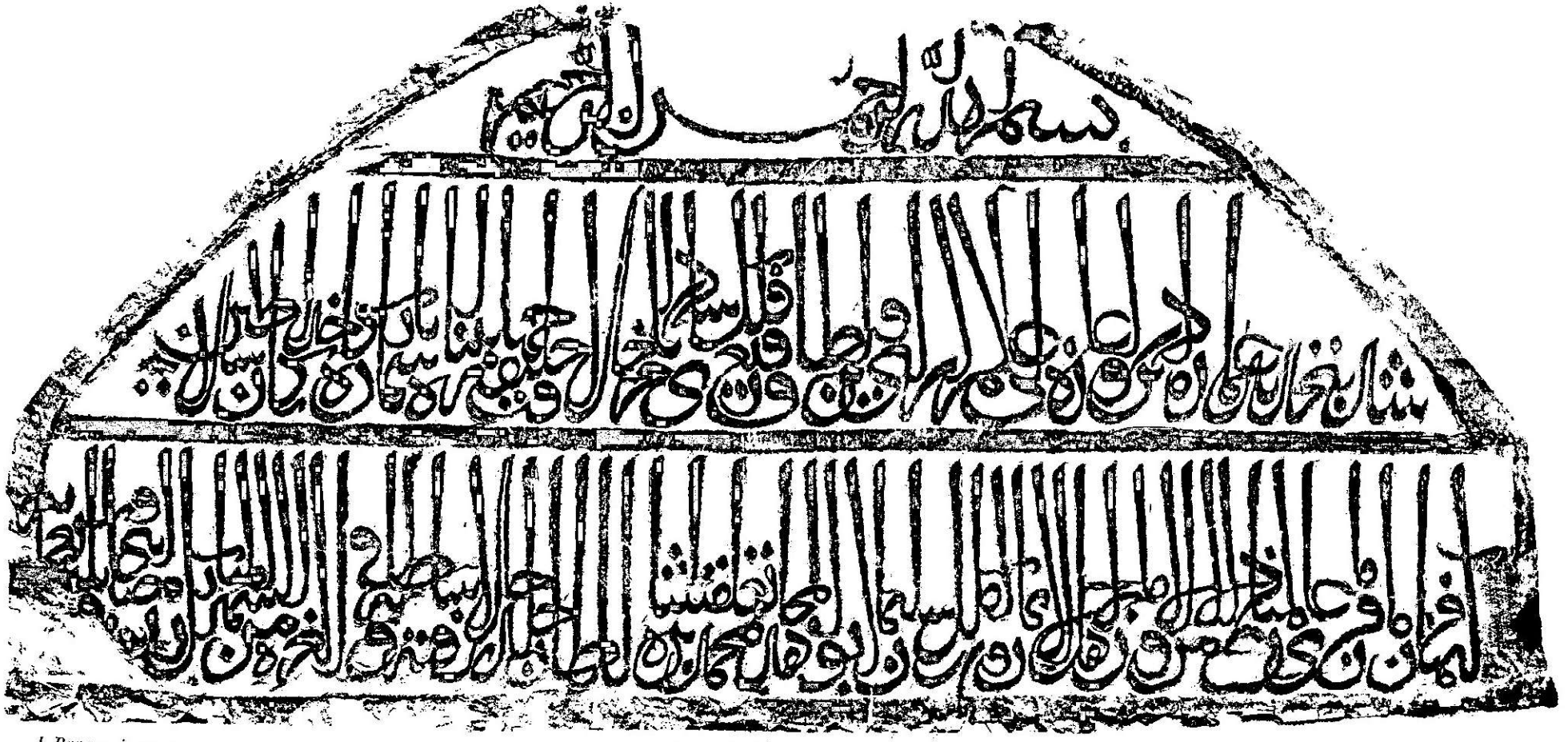
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâî at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1′ 5″ by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ یازدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ستون تسعمایة ناران شهید پسر حاجی اسحاق مرستجل [?]
درین مقام حفره ارباع و حوض بناء اینجا . . . . . برسد بروح حفه فاتحه کان اذا لنا[س] [?]

[17] This archaic spelling, instead of *kih*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.

No. 3. BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 732.



J Burgess, impress.

Scale: 1-5th of original.

TRANSLATION.

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nârân Shahîd, son of Hâjî Isḥâq . .

On this place . . . . . .[18]

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭâ Takya on the other bank of the Adyânadî, in Bihâr. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3′ 5″ by 1′ 2″ and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنا الله له بيتا فى الجنه

شد بتوفيق الهى واز طفيل مصطفى مسجد جمعه بعهد شاه دين پرور بنا

شاه محمود ابن ابراهيم شاه عادل ايك كشور از شاهان ستاند تاج بخشد بر گدا

بانى اين مسجد ان مسند شريعت هست كو ذات پاكش قرة العين نبى ومرتضا

سرور و صدر جهان ان سيد احمل كه شد ملك و ملت و دين و دولت را در او الجا

كرده فرمايش بناء خير ملك الشرف كان مقطع داود درين خطه نصير ابن بها

اين بنا شد استوار از طاق كسرى در بهار كعبه در عظمت رفعت بيت معمور علا

غرة ماه رجب بد هيصد و چهل و هفت سال كاندرين مسجد اقامت شد بتاييد خدا

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds *etc.*"

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafâ (*Muḥammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Maḥmûd, son of Ibrâhîm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazâ (*'Alî*), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti'*, the David[19] in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpûr*). This building in Bihâr is stronger than the portico of Kisrâ; it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847[20] (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqâma* took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihâr inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmûd Shâh of Jaunpûr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihâr), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihâr, published by Blochmann).[21]

[18] I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

[19] In this inscription the letters *re* and *dâl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dâwar*.

[20] The form *hîṣad*, instead of *hashtṣad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

[21] The Maḥmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bediban is very dubious, *see* General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.

24. Also from the Bayley Sarâî. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1′ 3″); the right side is partly broken—

. . . . . مدار وب ز خانزادهٔ سلعان . . . . .
افتخار اهل سیف وکار هحا اعتبار [?] . . . . . کردکار
دفتر ار تاریخ هجرت هفصد و تا سسب وهفت باز از ماه محرم فی شحر . . . . . شمار

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'. . . . . In the time of the Khânzâda . . . . . .
Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . . .
The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muḥarram reckon . . . . . .[22]

VII.—MUNÊR.

Munêr, Mâner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fîrôz Râî, son of Kêshû Râj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munêr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krôh* distant from the river. Bâbar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munêr.'

In the *Âîn* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târîkh-î Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-î Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.[23]

25. Two lines (dimensions 1′ 9″ by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد شه انجب شه محمود سلطان مهذب
بهین مسجد که بُد بانی ازل جلیل الحق زاقطاب متقرب
جو حمّاد خطیر او . . . . . عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب
زهجرت هفصد و هشت و نود بود بعصمت دار بنیادش تو ای رب

[22] The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

[23] No information is given about the places where the following three Munêr inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmûd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalîl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammâd Khâṭîr.....

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security, O God.'

This and the Maḥmûd Shâh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khân, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'âdat Khân A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihâr. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwâja-î Jahân (*Malik ashsharq Khwâja-î Sarâî*), the founder of the Jaunpûr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Kaṛah, Audh, Sandêlâ, Dalamau, Bahrâîch, Bihâr, and Jaunpûr; the emperor Maḥmûd was confined for some years only to old Dihlî, the fortress of Sîrî, and the Jâhânpanâh, while the districts of the Doâb, of Sambhal, Pânîpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khân, *viz.*, Sulṭân Naṣîraddîn, who had his residence at Fîrôz-âbâd. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amîrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timûr.

26. Three lines (size 5′ 9″ by 1′ 4″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

وسيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤها و فتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوها خالدين

كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنِّ هذا البَاب كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا
قَالَ عَقْلِي عَلَى طَرِيقِ الأَمْرِ قُلْ مَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ امِنًا
چون در روضهٔ مقدس شاه روی رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]
سال انجامش از خرد جستم خردم بهر این خجسته مقام
بدعا لب کشودهٔ و کفتا در دولت کشا[ده باد دوام]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God's*) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafîf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."

Both *târîkhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*).

27. Three lines (10′ 9″ by 1′ 3″.)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله اللهم صلى على محمّد و على ال محمّد و بارک

سلم اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمّد عبده و رسوله قال الله تعالى ان

اوّل بيت وضع للناس للّذى ببكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين فيه ايات بيّنات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان

ومنا ولله على الناس حجّ البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفر فانّ الله غنى عن العالمين

چو اين عالى سراى كعبه‌تمثال جهان‌ارا بفيض صانع قادر تمامى اقتضا كرده

دل عاصى همى جست از خرد سال بناى او خرد كفتا جو ابراهيم بيت الله بنا كرده

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muḥammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorân*, Sûr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âṣî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."'

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *târîkh* gives 1028 A.H. (*began the 19th, December 1618*).

The *târîkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *târîkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *banâ-yi Ka'ba-ya sânî nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân. The *târîkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.

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SUPPLEMENTARY TO

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Vol. II part IX

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

I.—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAHKARNADEVA.

[A. D. 1122.]

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where[1] or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nâgpur Museum, where a Devanâgarî transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, Mr. Fleet, and Colonel J. A. Temple.[2]

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1′ 6½″ broad by 1′ high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝″ in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜″ and 7/16″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namo Vrahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhî copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevî.[3] As regards orthography, the letter *b*

[1] I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Jâvalipattana or Jâuli-patan' was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

[2] See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nâgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karṇadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarṇa, and the transcript is said to read *Śrî-maheśa-Karṇa:* but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśaḥkarṇa and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Śrîmad-Yaśaḥkarṇa.* Karṇadeva is said to have built a fort named Karṇa Meru from which flowed the river Karṇavatî; in reality Karṇa built a temple at Banâras, which the poet describes as Karṇa's Meru, and he founded the town of Karṇâvatî. The same Karṇa is said to have conquered Bhîmeśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhîma II, one of the eastern Châlukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhîmeśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48.—E. H.]

[3] Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 483—495; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhî inscription.

is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śârddhaṁ*, in line 21, and *j* for *y* in *trijâmâ*, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhî and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripurî, from Yuvarâjadeva down to the reigning king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (Yuvarâjadeva; Kokalla; Gâṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramâditya; Karṇadeva, who married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî; and Yaśaḥkarṇadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gâṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayâga, and that Karṇadeva founded the town of Karṇâvatî, it only records (in verse 13) that Karṇa also built a magnificent temple at Kâśi or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed; and (in verse 23) that Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godâvarî.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—'and this...*Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vâmadeva,'[4]—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, *i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nâgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayakarṇadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarṇa[5] which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarṇa would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nâgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription[6] the grant recorded in it was made 'at the time of the Makara-saṁkrânti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Mâgha.' And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year[7] the 10th of the dark half of Mâgha fell by the *pûrṇimânta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 *h.* 39 *m.* after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-saṁkrânti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Mâghabadi 10 of Chedi-saṁvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

[4] Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

[6] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

[7] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dîkshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-saṁvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-saṁkrânti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Mâgha, was Śaka-saṁvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).

TEXT.[8]

L. 1. ओं[9] [॥×] ओं नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥

जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः ॥(।)

अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-

2. नत्रिवन्धुः[10]॥[11]—[1].

अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमब्जवान्धवस्य[12] ।

तनयं जनयांव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥[13]—[2].

पुत्रं पुरूरवसमौरसमाप सू-

3. नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलराशि(शि)रसायनस्य ।

आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥[14]—[3].

अ[त्रा]न्वये किल शताधिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनो-

4. क्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः ॥(।)

सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्वं(श्वं)भ[रा]सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥ —[4].

हैलाग्रहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥(।)

अ-

5. त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥ —[5].

स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्त्ता [।×]

मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीप-

6. तिभिः ॥[15]—[6].

तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(।)

आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्माथकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥[16]—[7].

सिंहासने नृप-

7. तिसिंहमसुथ सूनुमारूरुपन्नवनिभर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्याः ॥(।)

कोकल्लमर्ण्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुद्धचतुरङ्गचमूप्रचारं ॥ —[8].

इन्दुप्रभां निंदति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते

8. चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [।]

यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्तिः ॥[17]—[9].

मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो[18] नगरपरिघदैर्घी(र्घ्यं) लंघय[न्दो]र्द्वयेन ।

[शिर]सि

9. कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥[19]—[10].

सवीरसिंहासनमौलिरं[त्नं] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।

य[स्माद]कस्मादप[वर्गं ?]-

[8] From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] Read °नत्रिवन्धुः.

[11] Metre, Mâlinî.

[12] Read °मब्जबान्धवस्य.

[13] Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

[14] Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakâ.

[15] Metre, Âryâ.

[16] Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakâ. As the noun *nirmâtha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmâthi* (*nirmâthin*).

[17] Metre, Upajâti.

[18] This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

[19] Metre, Mâlinî.

L. 10. मिच्छन्नकु[च्छ]ल[:][कुं खजि?]तां व(ब)भार ।(॥)[20]—[11].
प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(ब)न्धौ सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरसुत्र मुक्तिं ।
पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलि[तारि]करीन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः

11. स्म[21]ककुभोर्च्चति कर्ण्णदेवः ॥[22]—[12].
कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितग[ग]नखेलत्खेचरीचक्रखे[द]: ॥(।)
किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(ब)?]-

12. हल[कीर्त्तेः] कीर्त्तनं कर्ण्णमेरुः ॥[23]—[13].
अग्रं धाम स्रे(श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं [।×]
व्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्ण्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्ठापि] क्ष्मातलव्र(ब्र)ह्मलो[कः]

13. ॥[24]—[14].
अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्मां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(।)
शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्काक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श):श्रीः श्रीयस(श):कर्ण्ण-

14. देवः ॥[25]—[15].
[चंद्रार्क्कदीप]वति पर्व्वतराजपूर्ण्णकुम्भावभासिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[।×]
चक्रे पुरोहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कर्म्मा] धर्म्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितेव महाभिषेकं ॥[26]—[16].
न

15. खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ।[27]न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलो[ल्लावकश्च?] ॥(।)
कलयति कलिनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥[28]—[17].
चिन्ता-

16. मणि[क्षण?]सु(शु)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्यादयदि कामधेनुदुग्धं [।×]-
दृस्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्तस्य दातुः सादृस्यं(श्यं) [ध]वलारुणेक्षणस्य । (॥)[29]—[18].
यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः ।

17. [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु जयस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदुच्चकैः ॥[30]—[19].
यो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता[31]निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [।×]
तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यव[ज्ञां ॥][32]—[20].

18. महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [।]
गरिम्णा [मे]रुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः । (॥)[33]—[21].
स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)चीनि ।
सा(शा)ङ्गि-

19. [वेष?]फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फीततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥[34]—[22].
अन्धाधीस(श)मरम्भदोर्व्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता
येनाभ्यर्च्चत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व(श्व)रो

[20] Metre, Upajâti.
[21] This word is quite clear in the rubbings.
[22] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[23] Metre, Mâlinî.
[24] Metre, Śâlinî.
[25] Metre, Mâlinî.
[26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[27] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[28] Metre, Mâlinî.
[29] Metre, Bhadravirâj. The third Pâda wants one short syllable, between *dṛiśos* and *tasya*. I would suggest reading *tadâsya*.
[30] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[31] This is quite clear in the rubbings.
[32] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[33] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[34] Metre, Svâgatâ.

L. 20. [भूष]णैः ॥(।)

यस्या[व]र्ण[यदात्त?]नृत्यलहरीद्रुवल्लिगोदावरी

[वीर्याण्यु?]न्मदहंसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ।(॥)[35]—[23].

कुर्व्वन्महीं व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

21. दरिचत्वनिव(ब)र्हणः [।×]

शा(सा)र्ङ्ग परसु(शु)रामेण यः स्वर्द्धामधिरोहति ॥[36]—[24].

स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवामदेवपा-

. . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(*Verse* 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye![37]

(2.) Now the king[38] who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god[39] who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvaśî and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

(4.) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunâ, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas.

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king[40] only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(6.) Resembling the Himâlaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls.

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripurî so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvarâjadeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants.

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,[41] was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

[35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[37] This first verse glorifies the god Vishṇu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, *i.e.*, Mercury) married (Iḷâ or Iḍâ) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.

[38] *i.e.*, the moon.

[39] *i.e.*, again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.

[40] For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* in the Kumbhî copper-plate (instead of *chakshame*) yields no sense.

[41] The original has only the word *chaturaṅga*.

(*V.* 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was Gâṅgeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (*and*) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (*and*) with smiling eyes, (*and*) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar.

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramâditya; for, striving after final beatitude (*and*) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12.) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayâga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword.

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kâśi, there is a temple (*erected by him*), Karṇa's *Meru*,[42] (*so lofty*) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14.) He set up the pillar of piety, called Karṇâvatî, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15.) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Âvalladevî, (*another*) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hûṇa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (*when he arose*), mistaking him to be the rising moon.

(16.) Of this law-abiding (*son*) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.[43]

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp[44] of Jambûdvîpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (*put*) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (*king*) whose eyes are both white and red.[45]

(19.) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened.

(20.) This bountiful (*lord*) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

[42] *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, lvi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gâṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

[43] At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarṇa's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himâlaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

[44] *i.e.*, a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambûdvîpa is the central division of the world, including India.

[45] The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.

Brâhmans[46]; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.[47]

(*V.* 21.) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies suppliants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts.

(22.) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishṇu is clad, his fame has become superabundant.

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhîmeśvara[48] with many ornaments. The Godâvarî, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24.) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brâhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurâma.

And this . . . the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vâmadeva . . . . . .

II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghâṭ on the Narmadâ, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2′ 9½″ broad by 1′ 10½″ high.[1] The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499-532; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.[2]

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2′ 7½″ broad by 1′ 9″ high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *aksharas*,

[46] *viz.*, at the time when he is making donations to them.

[47] The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

[48] *i.e.*, the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhîmeśvara temple at Drâkshârâma in the Godâvarî district.—E. H.]

[1] See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

[2] It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translati

the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{9}{16}$ and $\frac{11}{16}''$. The characters are Nâgarî, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* in *mahîpâlaḥ=Karṇṇaḥ*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmânîya* in *Hûṇaḥ=praharshaṁ*, in line 10. The language is Sanskṛit, and excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.[3] The language is not quite free from mistakes.[4] For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhattâm*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhattâm* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chaṇḍimatâ*, and, in line 2, the adjective *valgu*, used in the sense of the participle *valgat*. And the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *kim=vâ*, line 2, and in *yushmân=śarîraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *vibhrat*; in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śaṭâla*, instead of *saṭâla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anusvâra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinka*, *Vijayasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanśa*, line 20, and in *sudhânśuḥ*, line 18 (properly written *sudhâṁśu* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *śansatsu*, line 5, and *etân=sûriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anusvâra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anusvâra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇîdhara[5] and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*; written on the stone by his elder brother Pṛithvîdhara; and engraved by Mahîdhara, a son of the artizan Bâlasiṁha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhaṇadevî, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarṇadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasiṁhadeva and his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nâmaüṇḍî, in the Jâulî *pattalâ*, and of Makarapâṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadâ in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pâśupata ascetic, named Rudrarâśi, of Lâṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pîthe.

[3] The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

[4] Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

[5] Dharaṇîdhara, Pṛithvîdhara and Mahîdhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayâkarṇadeva, of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.

By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "oṁ oṁ, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatî, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhaṇadevî had married, and of her own descent:—

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrârjuna, v. 7), was descended the king Kokalladeva (v. 8). From him sprang Gâṅgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karṇa who is represented as having held in check the Pâṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kîras, and Hûṇas (vv. 11-13). Karṇa's son was Yaśaḥkarṇa, said to have become famous by devastating Champâraṇya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarṇa (vv. 15-16). Gayakarṇa married Alhaṇadevî, a daughter of the king Vijayasiṁha (a son of Vairisiṁha who was a son of the prince Haṁsapâla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyâmaladevî, a daughter of the king Udayâditya of Mâlava (vv. 17-23). And Alhaṇadevî bore to Gayakarṇa two sons, Narasiṁhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva (vv. 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 215.

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha *commenced* 2 *h.* 12 *m.* after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 *h.* 43 *m.* after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha *ended* 1 *h.* 46 *m.* after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,

was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nâmaüṇḍî and Makarapâṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jâulî *pattalâ*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśaḥkarṇa's copper-plate,[6] must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.[7]

L. 1. ओं[8][॥×] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥(।)

एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयाव(वु)द्विम्रदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥[9]—[1].

2. किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किन्वर्म्मग्रकर्म्मांकुराः[10]

किम्वा[11]कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी ।

इत्यन्नाकिवितर्क्किताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगा-

रिङ्गद्वल्गुतरङ्गभङ्गिततयः पुण्यप्र-

3. पाः पान्तु वः ॥[12]—[2].

भूतं सद्विभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जग-

न्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रयरसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् ।

यद्गन्धोद्गुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः

सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरवताद्युष्मान्श(ञ्श)रीरैः

4. शिवः ॥ —[3].

शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्च्चितः ।

ताण्डवाडंव(ब)रः कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठः प्रियाणि वः ॥[13]—[4].

विधौधसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशोः ।

कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्दधा-

5. नः श्रेयः परन्दिशतु वः सदयं द्विपास्यः ॥[14]—[5].

रूपैरनेकैर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।

यल्लेशलालित्यलवादपि स्यात्सन्मत्सु[15]पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् [॥×][16] —[6].

गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-

6. रभूद्दि(द्वि)भ्रत्सहस्रं करा-

न्प्रत्येकन्त्रिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृविः ।

तेजोभिर्ज्जगतीभृताम्परिभवी नाम्नार्ज्जुनः संस्मृते-

र्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वसु गतव्रीतं च चौरैश्चिरम् ॥[17]—[7].

तस्या-

7. न्वये समभवत्प्रथितः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।

कोकल्लदेव इति बिभ्रदु[दार]रूपन्नाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥[18]—[8].

निर्ज्जित्योर्ज्जितगर्व्वपर्व्वतभृतः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

[6] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

[7] From the impressions.

[8] Expressed by a symbol.

[9] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[10] The sign of *anusvâra* in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

[11] Read किं वा.

[12] Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[13] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[14] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[15] Read सार्वसत्सु.

[16] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 8. भुजः

प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः ।

पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमेण[ति]र्थनां

स्वर्गादूर्द्ध्वमधःस्थितापि विबुधाधारे [स?]मापादिता ॥[19]—[9].

पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धसत्त्वप्रवर्द्धि-

9. [त]ा ।

यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्वं व्याप व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥[20]—[10].

तेनाजनि महीपालङ्कर्णः स्वर्णेन कुर्व्वता ।

पूर्णतृष्णार्णवानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ —[11].

पाण्ड्यखण्डिमताम्भुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[ग्र]हं[21]

10. [कु]ङ्गः[22] सङ्गतिमाजगाम चकपे[23]वङ्गः कलिङ्गैः सह ।

कीरः कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे हूणश्च्प्रहर्षं जहौ

यस्मिन्नाजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं बिभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥[24]—[12].

अस्मङ्गर्त्तृपराभवेन सकला-

11. भुंक्ते [भुवं] यामसौ

तामेतान्तनवामहै तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रियः ।

यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्वयनजैर्व्वाष्पैः पयोधीन्वाधुः

स्फारानूत्तमहोर्म्मिभिः पुनरमी तं वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-[25]

12. क्रिरे ॥ —[13].

चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्धतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-

न्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्ष्मापालचूडामणिः ।

तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्ण इ-

त्यौदार्याद्ध[निकी]-[26]

13. चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाद्भूवल्लभः समभवद्भयकर्णदेवः ।

यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥[27]—[15].

14. द्युतिजितहरितालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गैककालः ।

विमलितरणभालः कान्तकीर्त्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥[28]—॥[16].

अस्ति

[19] Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita. The *akshara* put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

[20] Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[21] Of the *akshara* in brackets only the consonant *r* is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गर्वाग्रहं.

[22] The *akshara* in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter *k* remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 217, line 10.

[23] This reading is absolutely certain. चकपे is grammatically incorrect, for चकम्पे.

[24] Metre of verses 12-14, Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[25] The word तं of this line is quite certain. Of the *aksharas* in brackets only the first is partly visible.

[26] Of the *aksharas* in these brackets only the vowel *i* of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

[27] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[28] Metre, Mâlinî.

L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।
शौर्यावसज्जितनिरर्गलसैन्यसंघनम्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवालः ॥[29] —[17].
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-

16. णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्चितांघ्रिः[30] ।
श्रीवैरिसिन्हवसुधाधिपतिर्व्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्न्निधिर्न्न परमर्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥ —[18].
स [31]वैरिसिन्होप्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहाग्र-

17. हाणि ।
स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥[32]—[19].
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गुरिताहितश्रीः ।
पृथ्वीपतिर्व्विजयसिन्ह[33]इति

18. प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शुः[34] ॥[35]—[20].
तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदयादित्यसुता सुरूपा ।
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरर्च्चितश्रीः ॥[36]—[21].

19. मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभृतान्नायका-
द्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादल्हणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाङ्गूपते-
रेतस्यान्निज-

20. [37]दीर्घवन्शविशदप्रेंखत्पताकाकृतिः ॥[38]—[22].
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेश्वरः ।
चक्रे प्रीतिम्परामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥[39]—[23].
शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-

21. णपण्यभूमिः ।
असूत पुत्रद्वयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेशन्नरसिन्हदेवम्[40] ॥[41]—[24].
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्हदेवनृपतेः[42]प्रोद्यन्यशश्चन्द्रमा
दिग्भित्तीर्व्विदधातु व(ब)न्धुरसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव ।
भूभर्त्तारम-

22. वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुया-
त्पूर्व्वेषान्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभृतां ध्यायति ॥[43]—[25].
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्हदेवः[44] सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजेङ्गुतरूपसेवः ।
यो मेघनादव(ब)हु-

23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिभवन्नहु[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥[45]—[26].
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्मठेनाङ्गुतभूमिकेन ।

[29] Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Originally °ङ्घ्रिः or ङ्घ्रिः, but altered to °ङ्घ्रेः. At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिसिंह°.

[31] Read वैरिसिंहो.

[32] Metre, Upendravajrâ.

[33] Read °सिंह.

[34] Read °सुधांशुः.

[35] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[36] Metre, Upajâti.

[37] Read दीर्घवंश°.

[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[39] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[40] Read °सिंहदेवम्.

[41] Metre, Upajâti.

[42] Read श्रीनरसिंह°.

[43] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] Read जयसिंह°.

[45] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

सहामुना श्रीनरसिन्हदेवप्रसूरसावल्हणदेव्युदारा[46] ॥[47]—[27].
व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) ।
अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भुप्रासादालीद्वयन्निजैः ॥[48]—[28].
देवायास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् ।
ग्रामन्नाम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्व्वादायैः[49]स्मा-

25. र्द्ध चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धैः ॥[50]—[29].
नर्म्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्व्वतोपत्यकाश्रये ।
तथापरमदाद्ग्रामन्नाम्ना मकरपाटकम् ॥[51]—[30].
लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्व्विधिवद्वधत्ताम्[52] ।
स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26. धिमस्य तावद्यावन्निमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥[53]॥—[31].
मौन्या(ना)न्वये[54]भार्गववैतहव्यसावेतसेतिप्रवरत्रयाढ्ये ।
महेश्वराख्याद्धरणीधरोभून्नाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥[55]—[32].
कोमल-

27. कान्तिसटालिनोच्चैःस्नेहातिभारभरितेन ।
दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥[56]—[33].
पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृश्वा ।
प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्द्दि-

28. ङ्मण्डली शिष्यगणैर्व्विजिग्ये ॥[57]—[34].
एतस्यावरजस्तर्क्कनिष्णातोद्भुतनैपुणः[58] ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्मूरिः[59]यशिधराभिधः ॥[60]—[35].
[61]असूत्रयदिदं सर्व्वं विश्वकर्म्मविधानवित् ।
पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-

29. धारः पृथ्वीम्पृथुर्यथा ॥ —[36].
सूत्रधाराग्रणीवा(बा)लसिन्हसूनुर्म्महीधरः[62] ।
शिलान्तथाकरोद्वर्णैर्न्नभस्तारकितं यथा ॥ —[37].
संवत् ९०७ मार्गसुदि ११[63]रवौ ॥ ॥ ॥

[46] Read श्रीनरसिंह°.
[47] Metre, Upendravajrâ.
[48] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[49] This sign of *visarga* is superfluous.
[50] Metre, Śâlinî.
[51] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[52] The correct form would of course be विधत्ताम्.
[53] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[54] The correction may have been made already in the original.
[55] Metre, Upajâti.
[56] Metre, Âryâ.
[57] Metre, Upajâti.
[58] Of the *akshara* तो the superscript line which turns *á* into *o* is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.
[59] Read °तो सूरिः.
[60] Metre of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[61] Originally आसू°, altered to असू°.
[62] Read °बालसिंह°.
[63] There is no doubt whatever about these figures.

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

Oṁ! Adoration to Śiva!

(*Verse* 1.) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*)![64]

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping[65] tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view!

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is characterized by cold; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies[66] (*of his*) protect you!

(4.) May Nîlakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you![67]

(5.) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles!

(6.) May Sarasvatî guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies!—

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom[68] is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

(8.) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds.

(9.) From him sprang the prince Gâṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

[64] *Viz.*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyâṇitâ* is not given by the dictionaries.

[65] *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *riṅgat*.

[66] These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalâ*.

[67] The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nîlakaṇṭha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Kârttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandraka* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

[68] Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmâṇḍapurâṇa*, which expresses the same idea.

supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*[69] without equal.

(*V.* 10.) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe.

(11.) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karṇa.

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pâṇḍya relinquished violence,[70] the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,[71] the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kîra staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hûṇa left off being merry.

(13.) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones.

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarṇa, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champârāṇya, (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them.

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarṇadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function[72] of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,[73] was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

(17.) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhila. Therein was born forsooth the prince Haṁsapâla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18.) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisiṁha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19.) That Vairisiṁha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera.[74]

[69] See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

[70] The abstract noun *chaṇḍimatâ* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chaṇḍiman*.

[71] Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

[72] This function belongs properly to the moon.

[73] This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishṇu, *Harer-vîryam*, (see M. Williams' *Dictionary*); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Srî*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishṇu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

[74] Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches).

(*V.* 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasiṁha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (*and*) the moon of whose fame (*accordingly*) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayâditya, the ruler of the realm of Mâlava,—Śyâmaladevî, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (*and herself*) a votary of Fortune.

(22.) As Menâ bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śaṁkara, (*and*) Vîriṇî to Daksha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhaṇadevî, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.[75]

(23.) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarṇa bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śaṁkara did on Śivâ.

(24.) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarṇa a son, the prince Narasiṁhadeva.

(25.) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasiṁhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash; and may the earth, having secured in him a suitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitrâ's son[76] (*did Râma*); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds[77] and practises many wiles!—

(27.) That noble Alhaṇadevî, the mother of the illustrious Narasiṁhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (*god*) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors.

(28.) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (*and*) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (*adjoining*) Śambhu's temple.

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanâtha, the village named Nâmaüṇḍî together with every income (*thereof*), in the Jâulî *pattalâ*.

(30.) And on the right bank of the Narmadâ, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapâṭaka.

(31.) May the Pâśupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lâṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades[78] the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple *pravara* Bhârgava, Vaitahavya, and Sâvetasa,[79] there was born from one named Maheśvara Dharaṇîdhara, (*a mountain*)[80] by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

[75] Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (*vaṁśa*)'.

[76] *I.e.*, Lakshmaṇa.

[77] *Meghanâda* and *Atikâya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Râvaṇa; and *Prahasta* was one of Râvaṇa's generals.

[78] Or rather, 'is coextensive with'.

[79] Compare the *Âśvalâyana-śrautasûtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

[80] The word *dharaṇîdhara* has this meaning.

(*V.* 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp[81] to the three worlds.

(34.) His son Pṛithvîdhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (*and*) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śaśidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pîthe, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,[82] planned all this, as Pṛithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahîdhara, a son of the chief of artizans Bâlasiṁha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky.

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha.

III.—TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited.[1] It is said to be of like character with that of Alhaṇadevî's inscription.[2] Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit[3] the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11″ broad by 7″ high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *aksharas* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between ½ and ¾″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit. Excepting the symbol for *oṁ* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahma Brahmâdi*-(the only words in which *b* would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

[81] The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *sneha* also means 'oil', and *daśâ* 'the wick of a lamp'.

[82] The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

[1] See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 487.

[2] *Ante*, No. II.

[3] I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.

used instead of the palatal in *naresvaraḥ*, line 3, *Kesavaḥ* and *aisvaram*, line 6, and *Kesavasya*, line 8; and *n* instead of *anusvâra* in *Jayasinha-*, line 4, (but not in *Narasiṁha-*, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *saṁdhi*.

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahâdeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nâyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kâtyâyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sîkhâ in Mâ[la]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasiṁhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasiṁhadeva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayâkarṇa. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrâvaṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrâvaṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 *h.* 3·2 *m.*, to the 27th July, 23 *h.* 20 *m.* after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 *h.* 30 *m.*, and on the 27th July, 2 *h.* 8 *m.* after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrâvaṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 *h.* 35 *m.* and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 *h.* 25 *m.* after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrâvaṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 *h.* 12 *m.* after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svâtî about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrâvaṇa.[4]

The village Sîkhâ which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mâlavaka or Mâlava, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[5]

L. 1. श्रीं[6] [॥×] ज्ञानानंदं[7] परं ब्र(ब्र)ह्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवितं । वंदेम-

2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमद्गयाक-

3. र्णनृपस्य[8] सूनुर्नरेस्व(ख)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो[9] । जिग्ये धरि-

4. त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्[10] जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिन्हदेवः[11] ॥

5. [12]वि[प्रो योस्त]-[13]कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।

6. केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमैस्व(ख)रम् ॥

7. सम्वत्[14] ९२८ श्रावणसुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥

8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]-[15]

9. वके सीखाग्रामः ॥[16]

[4] For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 62.

[5] From the impressions.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[8] Metre, Upajâti.

[9] Read °देवः.

[10] Read सम्राड्.

[11] Read °सिंहदेवः.

[12] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The reading of the *aksharas* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रस्यास्तकनाभीभूदा°.

[14] Read संवत्.

[15] The *akshara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

[16] This line is on the proper left margin.

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ!

(*Line* 1.) Let us adore (*him*[17] *who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmâ and the other gods,—Mahâdeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayâkarṇa, the illustrious lord of men Narasiṁhadeva, conquered the earth: may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasiṁhadeva, long be victorious!

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?)[18], caused that temple of Îśvara to be built.

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakshatra*) Hasta.

(8.) The *nâyaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kâtyâyana, his place of residence the village of Sîkhâ in Mâ[la ?]vaka.

IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subâ of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavâḍ's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoch, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

No. I.—*A Gurjara grant of Saṁvat 346.*

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sâṁdhivigrahika* Âditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is "a small man not more than a Ṭhâkur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, *e. g.* in the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśîkosha* its Prâkṛit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grâma-pradhâna*.[1]

[17] *I.e.*, Mahâdeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

[18] Or possibly: 'The Brâhman, named Astaka, had (*a son*) Âladeva; his son Keśava.' See note 13, above.

[1] Dr. Bühler's *Pâiyalachchhînâmamâlâ*, v. 104 (*gâmaṇî bhoio ya gâmavaî*, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as "headman or lord of a village," and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarâtî for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhîyo*, and *grâmapati* or *gâmavaî* is *gâmetâ*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pâlana* or "protection,"—see Amara, III, 23, and Maheśvara's commentary on it, also *Viśvakosha*, v. 268; *Medinîkosha*, v. 15 of words ending in *ga*; and *Trikâṇḍaśeshakosha*, III, 120 (पालने व्यवहारे च निर्वेशे पण्ययोषितां । भोगः सुखे धने चाहेः शरीरफणयोरपि ॥ Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or "protector;" as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.

Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace Âditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Saṁvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III., circiter 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.[2] Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यमुदकातिसर्गेण

2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या [3]क्रिषत × करि-

3. षापयतो[4] वा न कैश्चिद्बाधेषे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वङ्शैर्व्वा[5] सामान्यं भूमि-

4. दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता व्या-

5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः [6]सागरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

6. तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

7. व नरके वसे[7] ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णसर्प्पा भिजायन्ते[8]

8. ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[:] ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि निर्म्मा-

9. ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनरांददीत ॥ लिखितं चात्र सान्धिविग्रहिकेना-

10. दित्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरशतत्रयं[9] षट्चत्वारिङ्शोत्तरके[10] ॥ ३४६

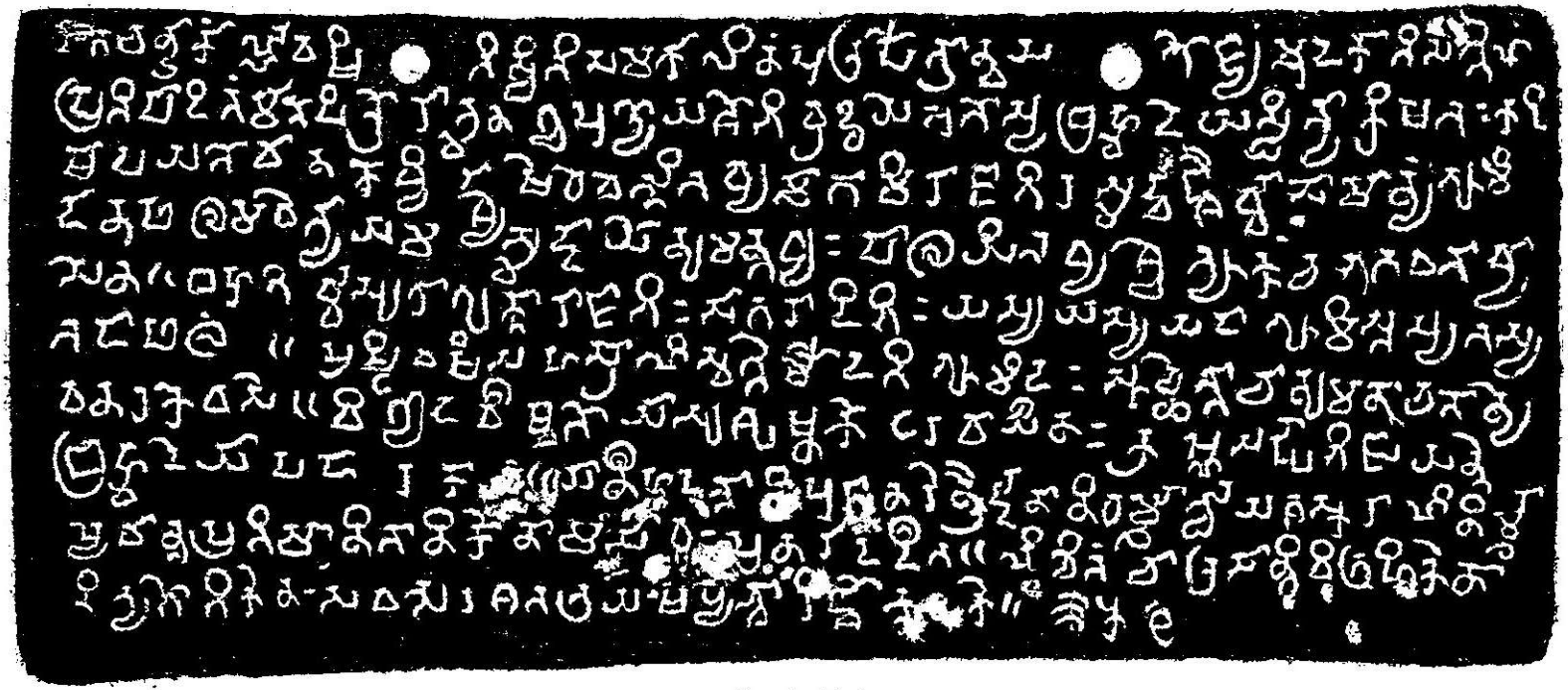
No. II.—*A grant of Raṇagraha, dated Saṁ. 391.*

The plate measures 9½ inches by 4¼ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umetâ, Ilâo and Bagumrâ grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskṛit.

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brâhmaṇa Adityaśarma (*sic*), the *dûtaka* (l. 9) the *bhogika* Pâlakaṭujñâna, and the writer (l. 10) the *saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* Mâtribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vîtarâga, called Raṇagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakiraṇâbhyarchanarata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrî-Dadda-pâdântarjñâti*); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) *Saṁ.* 391, *Vaiśâkha bahula* 15, *i. e.* the new moon of Vaiśâkha.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.
[3] Read क्रषतः.
[4] Correctly कर्षयती.
[5] Read °ग्रैरन्यैर्वा.
[6] Read सगरादिभिः.
[7] Read वसेत्.
[8] Read हि जायन्ते.
[9] Read °त्रये.
[10] Read °रिंशदुत्तरके.

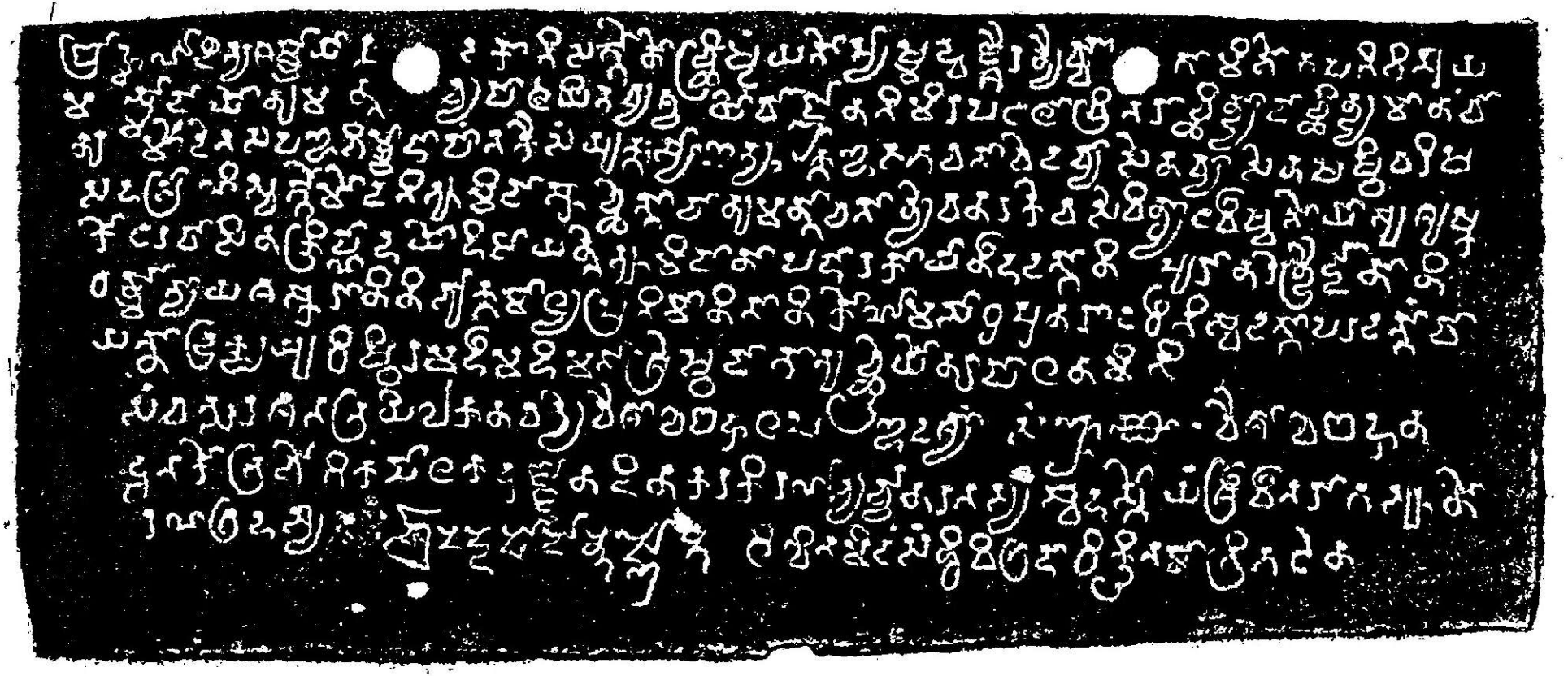
No. 1. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA III. Ch. Sam. 346. (2nd plate).



From impressions by H.H. Dhruva.

Size of original

No. 2. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA IV. Ch. Sam. 391 (2nd plate).



Size of original.

Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—Praśântarâga II.[11] and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Kheḍâ grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Saṁ. 380 and 385,[12] it follows from the new date, Saṁ. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression "the illustrious Dadda." Further, as Raṇagraha is called both a son of Vîtarâga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhaṭa II.—Vîtarâga II., Raṇagraha must have been Dadda's brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Saṁ. 391, or, as the Gurjaras used the Chedi era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्म्मायां[13] उदकातिसर्गेणाच्छिष्टं[14] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वागामिभोगपतिभि अय-[15]

2. [16]मस्मादायोनुमन्तव्य[17] पालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[18]वृतराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्यमान[19] वा-

3. नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकै[:] संयुक्त[:] स्या[20] इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-

4. सहस्राणि[21] स्वर्गे मोदति भुमिदा[22] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[23] विन्ध्याटवीष्व-
तोयासु शुष्क-

5. कोटरवासिन[:] [24]कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[:] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि

6. धर्म्मार्थ्ययशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम[25] साधु[:] पुनरादधीति[26] स्वदत्ता[27]
परदत्तां वा

7. यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर[28] मही[29] महिमता[30] श्रेष्ठ दातातुच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति[31]

8. संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्यै[32] वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३९१ वैशाख ब १५

9. दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकट्टान[:×] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्च्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो

10. रणग्रहस्य श्रीदद्दपादान्तर्ज्ञाति[33] लिखितमिदं संधिविगहाधिक्रित[34]माचिभटेन

No. III.—*A grant of Śântilla, general of Nirihullaka.*

The plate measures $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription edited by Mr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff. The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed. The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskṛit.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

[12] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. I, pp. 247 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

[13] Read °शर्म्मणि.

[14] Read °णीकृष्टः.

[15] Read °पतिभिरय°.

[16] Read °मस्मद्दायी°.

[17] Read °मन्तव्यः.

[18] Read °वृतमतिरा°.

[19] Read °दाच्छिद्यमानं.

[20] Read स्यादि°.

[21] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

[22] Read भूमिदः.

[23] Read वसेत्.

[24] Read कृष्णा°.

[25] Read नाम.

[26] Read °दधीत.

[27] Read °दत्तां.

[28] Read युधिष्ठिर.

[29] Read महीं.

[30] Read महीमतां.

[31] Read दानाच्छ्रेयो°.

[32] Read एकनवत्यां.

[33] Read °ज्ञातिः.

[34] Read °विग्रहाधिकृत°

Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakaṭaka*), located at Nirguṇḍipadraka (l. 1), Śântilla, the general (*baládhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikapâla* and *mahâpalupati* (*mahâpallapati*) Nirihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkaraṇa (*Śaṁkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarâja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantasvâmi (*Bhajika*[35] *Anantasvâmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pâshâṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vâjasâneya* (*Saṁhitâ*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *sîm* of Śrî-Parṇâkâ, which belonged to (*the district of*) Taṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahâyajñas*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka's* feet, *i.e.* probably of Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Śântilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Nirihullaka must have been a Bhîl chieftain; for the title *mahâpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."[36] It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskṛit, but a barbarous Deśî word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pâdânudhyâta* is frequently used in the former sense.[37] With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarâja and Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śaṁkaragaṇa* for *Śaṁkaraṇa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions[38] mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharâja, the son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalîśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śaṁkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Kheḍâ plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalîśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Saṁvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskṛit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp. 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Svâmin* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Achâryas, Yajvans, Dîkshitas and Yâjñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svâmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

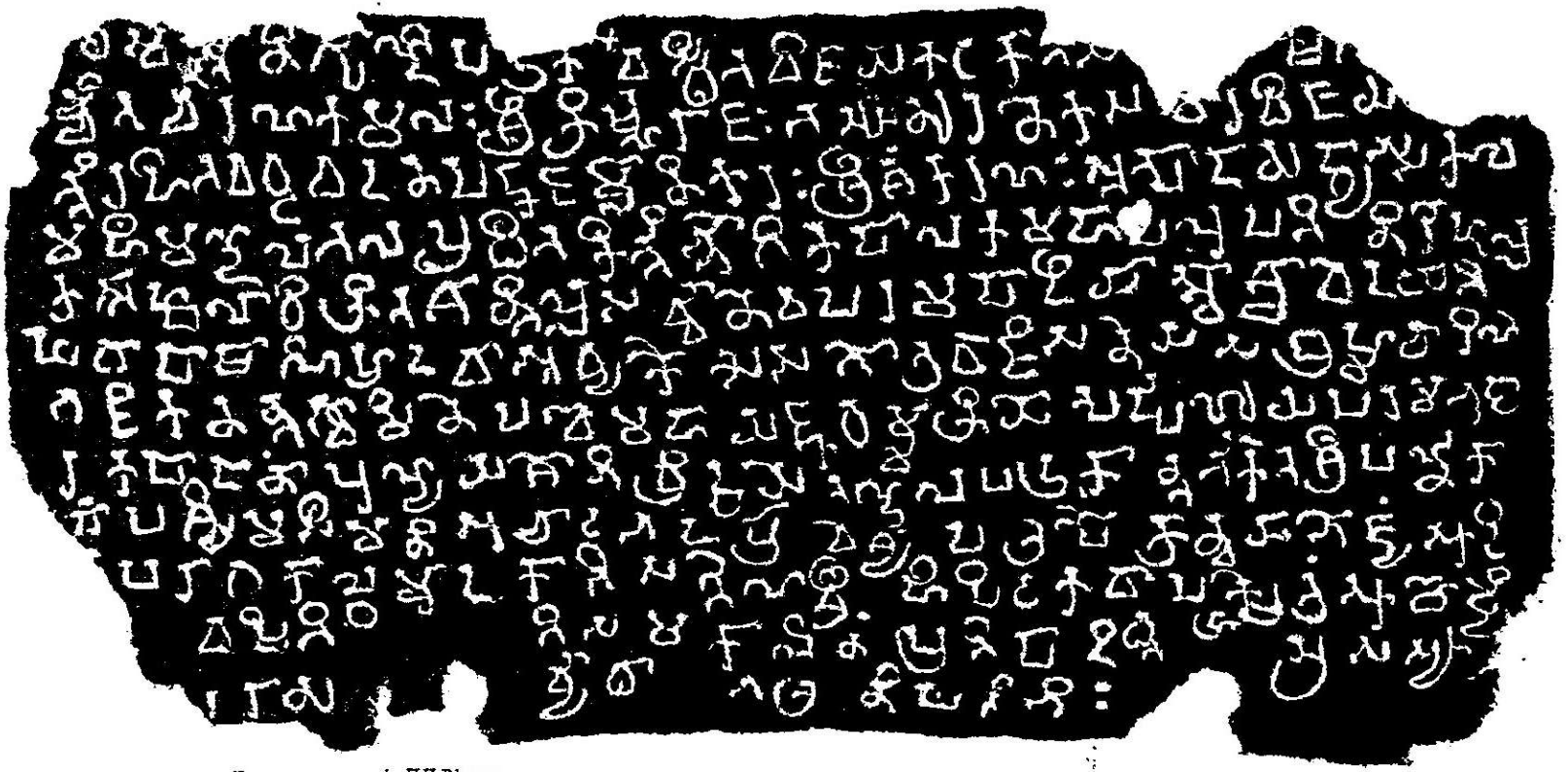
[35] *Bhajika* might be *bhajâka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word *bhaṭṭa* in Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc.

[36] See Dr. Böhtlingk's *Abridged Sanskṛit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Śâṅkheḍâ goes by the name of Palla (Gujarâtî *Pâla*). Thus, *mahâpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pâla."

[37] See *e. g.* l. 33 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

[38] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.

No. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALÂDHIKṚITA ŚÂNTILLA. (plate I).



From impressions by H.H.Dhruva.

Size of original.

certain period and been given to Mîmâṁsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śabarasvâmin, the author of the *Bhâshya* on Jaimini's *Mîmâṁsâ Sûtra*; of Agnisvâmin, the commentator on Lâtyâyana's *Śrauta Sûtra*; of Bhavasvâmin, the author of a *Bhâshya* on Baudhâyana; of Keśavasvâmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhâyana-prayoga-śâstra*; Devasvâmin, quoted in the *Trikâṇḍa-maṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhâshya* on Âśvalâyana; Dhûrtasvamin, Kapardisvâmin and others. Kumârila is both a *Svâmin* and a *Bhaṭṭa*. The title *Svâmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhî inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramâditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dâsasvâmin, son of Janasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmin Dîkshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 136), while a Valabhî grant, dated Saṁvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvâmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvâmin, Devasvâmin and Bhavasvâmin, and places Śabarasvâmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikanantasvâmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarâtî Nâgaravâḍâ or something like it. And the *Dehezâda of Gaikavâḍî Villages* (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadâbâd) does give a Nâgaravâḍâ, 6 kos from Dabhoî. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pâshâṇihrada, which would be Saṇiâdarî, 14 kos from Dabhoî (given in the *Dehezâda*, p. 5). *Hrada* would be masculine *dharo* and feminine *dharî*, changeable to *darî* in Gujarâtî, and *Pâshâṇi* would drop its initial *Pâ*, as Bagumrâ has done with its *Ba* in having Gumṛâ, and give Saṇiâ, and thus we get Saṇiâdarî. From the same Pâshâṇihrada we would get Sâṅkheḍâ if *hrada* were replaced by *kheḍâ* for *kheṭaka*, meaning 'town,' and *Pâ* were dropt as in the other case. Taṇḍulapadraka is obviously Tândaḷajâ, also 14 *kos* from Dabhoî (as given in the *Dehezâda*); and Śrî-Parṇâkâ is Paniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoî. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tandaljâ and Saṇiâdarî quite close to each other.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्रीं स्वस्ति निर्गुण्डिपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटकात् स — — [चिति] — — —[39]

2. र्चितचरणकमलः श्रीकृष्णराजः[40] तत्सूनुरनेकस[म]रविजय — — —[41]

3. त्तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकरः श्रीशंकरणः स्वत्पादानुध्यास्सकल-[42]

4. महीमण्डलतलप्रथितकीर्त्तिर्भोगिकपालमहापलुपतिनिरिद्धुल्ल-[43]

[39] Restore सकलचितिमण्डला°.
[40] Read °कृष्णराजः.
[41] Restore °लम्भकी°.
[42] Read शंकरगणस्त° ; °नुध्यातस्त°.
[43] Read °कीर्त्तिर्भोगिक°; महापल्लपति.

L. 5. कस्तद्बलाधिक्रितशान्तिल्ल[44] सर्व्वानेव परमपादीयास्त्वांश्चावेदयति[45]

6. यथा पाषाणिद्वद[46]वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणो[47]

7. भजिकनन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म्मक्रियोत्पर्प्पणाय[48] परमभट्टा-

8. रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिर्व्विद्धये[49] तण्डुलपद्रकान्तर्भकत[50]श्रीपर्षाका-

9. यां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं [51]पत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं आदि-[52]

10. — परागकालमुदकातिसर्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आच्चाद्दि-[53]

11. — — वक्षिति[स्थि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादिष्त अतुस्या —[54]

12. — — ररानुर्य्याथा भतृनिपतिभिः[55]

V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

By J. Kirste, Ph.D., Vienna.

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr. H. Cousens, in Gujarât, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Bühler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places :—

1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii),
2. Dilmal (iv—vii),
3. Mandal (viii),
4. Munjpur (ix),
5. Palanpur (x, xi),
6. Roho (xii—xvi),
7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),
8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii),
9. Taraṅga (xxix).

All are written in Devanâgarî characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarâtî. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskṛit and Gujarâtî. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads : —

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muzaffar Shâh. It also mentions a Malik Kâmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Maṁḍalî (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Raṇaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarâja, of the Geḍîâ family, in Saṁvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

[44] Read °धिक्रतशान्तिल्लः.
[45] Read °यान्स्वा°.
[46] Read °द्वद°.
[47] Read °वाजसनेयि° ; °चारिणे.
[48] Read °त्सर्पणाय.
[49] Read °भिर्व्विद्धये.
[50] Can °न्तर्भकत° be for °न्तर्भक्ति° ?
[51] Read पुत्र°.
[52] Restore °त्योपराग°.
[53] Restore °आचन्द्रार्कार्णव°.
[54] Read प्रतिपादितं. The remaining words I am unable to restore.
[55] This line too is unintelligible. [Restore अतीस्वीचितया-ग्रहारस्थित्या भट्टनपतिभिः ?—E. H.]

chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajuṇajî, who ruled in Saṁvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradâ-a jî, who ruled in Saṁvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a Mahârâṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Sûṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Saṁvat 1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapâgachchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hîravijaya was Bhaṭṭâraka in Saṁvat 1642. This inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 256). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Saṁvat 1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasiṁha is mentioned once (inscription xx). Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvarîya Maṭha called Jirâja, *i.e.* probably Jerâja or Jayarâja.

No. I.[1]

L. 1. सं[व]त १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]श्विन वि[द] १५ सोमे
2. ॥ प्र[ग्व]टज्ञातीय श्रे[ष्ठ] — — [ण]सुत
3. समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त][2] . . .

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Âśvina, a Monday, a figure was caused to be made by the Śreshṭhin Samayaka, son of . . . of the Prâgvâṭa gotra.

No. II.[3]

L. 1. [श्री] महिदेश्वरीयमठाधिप-
2. जिराजगुरु[श्रीध्यान]गणाचार्य-
3. स्य ॥

TRANSLATION.

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyânagaṇâchârya, the guru Jirâja, the lord of the Mahideśvarîya monastery.

No. III.[4]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥ श्रावण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ट वदि
८ जन्मा । फागुण [श्रा]
2. सुदि १२ दिक्खा । फागुण वदि १३ नाणं ।
ज्येष्ट वदि ९ मुक्खो स्वामि

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The conception (*chyavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa; birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha; consecration (*dîkshâ*) on the 12th

[1] At Bhilri: on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.
[2] Read मूर्त्तिः कारापिता.
[3] At Bhilri: on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple.
[4] At Bhilri: in an old well outside the village.

(*day*) of the bright half of Phâlguṇa; enlightenment (*jñâna*) on the 13th (*day*) of the dark half of Phâlguṇa; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha . . . . . .

The stone bearing this must have been taken from a Jaina temple, and the inscription refers to the career of one of the Tîrthaṁkaras.

No. IV.[5]

L. 1. संवत् १[२]९५ वर्षे पौषे वदि ८ गुरौ गाभलाग्रामे डीलविक-
2. भंगानंतरं श्रीपार्श्वनाथबिंब[6] मातृपितृमूर्त्तिश्च कारिता श्रेः
3. सोहडसुतकुमरभदेन[7]

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1295 (?) on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pârśvanâtha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreshṭhin Kumarabhadra (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gâbhalâ, in the district (?) of Ḍîlavika.

No. V.[8]

L. 1. [ओं] सिद्धिः । — — । सज — समु-
2. द्रो । याव [च] — — [त]डि[त]ो मे[कः] ।
3. यावत्त — — — — णे । ताव-
4. द्वि — — — — — य — ॥ स्व-
5. ॥ स्ति [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे वै-
6. षाष शुदि १० उगौकेला
7. ॥ उत दा[गा]सुत वादाकेन हि
8. जेयकः करापितः ॥ नुत [भरव]
9. अस्मिन — [शे]लके कृते सति उ-
10. भय कुला नद्ये [भवत] मूटप दृ-
11. षद प्रतिसूत्र सागा कृत [ट]क ४००
12. कश्यप°[डाहु] श्वो वश्व

Nothing can be made out of this with certainty except the words :—"on the 10th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśâkha . . . . was caused to be made . . . . ."

No. VI.[9]

L. 1. संवत १५३२ वैसाष वदि ११
2. रवौ के° लषासुतदेवा-
3. केन स्थापितो नारायणः ।

TRANSLATION.

In (*the year*) Saṁ. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, a Sunday, (*an image*) of Nârâyaṇa was placed by Ke. Devâka, son of Lakhâ.

[5] At Dilmal: on the base of an image of Pârśvanâtha.
[6] Read बिंबं.
[7] May also be °चदेन.
[8] At Dilmal: on a pillar of the Kîrtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mâtâ.
[9] At Dilmal: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mâtâ.

No. VII.[10]

L. 1. स्वस्ति संवत १५३२ वर्षे वैसाष वदि ११

2. रवौ के° रा[घ]सुत मा° सादाझांटा

3. [यए]तयी भार्या ठां° नरसिंग-

4. तनया बाइ रूपाइ मा° सादास[ह]

5. तथा ठा° गोपालतनया बाई मांई

6. मा° झांटासह अहर्निशि श्रीलक्ष्मी-

7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमतः ॥ प्रति-

8. मा पिंडी [तत]: कारापिता शिव-

9. मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥

Translation.

Hail! In the year Saṁ. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, a Sunday, Bâî Rûpâi, daughter of Ṭhâ(kura) Narasing (Narasiṁha), wife of Mâ (ṇḍalika) Sâdâjhâṁṭâ, son of Ke. Râghâ(?) (and) mother of Sâdâsaha (?)—likewise Bâî Mâṁî, daughter of Ṭhâ(kura) Gopâla and mother of Jhâṁṭâsaha, bow day and night to Lakshmî and Nârâyaṇa. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to be made.

No. VIII.[11]

L. 1. بتاریخ پانزده یوم ماه ذی‌القعده سنة عشرین و ثمانمئه

2. درعهد سلطان سلاطین احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه

3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . . عمل کامجند . . . . . این کتابت[12]

4. . . . . .

5. . . . . .

6. . . . . .

7. [स्व] स्ति संवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि

8. — क्रे[13] अद्येह मंडल्यां मलिक श्री [का]-

9. मचंदप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-

10. विजयराज्ये समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-

11. [सी]त्योकविद्यमान मांडवी [हद] खप

12. [त]निश्चल कीधी ते पूर्वम[दनी] [14]को

13. ल[खद]निहरदिपू[छ]ीयाहिजेपा

14. पवर्त्तदाननिलाविलाय [दपं तप]

[10] At Dilmal: on the base of the image of Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa in a small shrine.

[11] At Mandal: on a stone in the Chauki.

[12] The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabacek at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible.

[13] L. 8. Probably शुक्रे is to be read.

[14] Corrected below the line to पुर्व [मद]—नी. The third letter may be मु and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.

TRANSLATION.

Persian Text.—At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hijra, *i.e.* the 24th December of 1417 A.D.), during the reign of the Sultân of Sultâns Ahmad, son of the Sultân Muhammad, son of the Sultân Muzaffar Shâh . . . business(?) of Kâmajand . . . . this writing . . . . . .

Sanskrit Text.—Hail! In the year Saṁ. 1474, in the dark half of Pausha, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A. D.), to-day, here in Maṁḍalî, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kâmachanda, in the victorious reign of Râṇa the illustrious Raṇaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Maṁḍalî . . . . . .

No. IX.[15]

L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—
2. हडा [थानभ]मा — तथा माय — — [थरि]सी [क]म
3. मताल सा — — धव — श्रीत्रि[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side. Nothing can be made out except the date Saṁvat 1211, Vaiśâkha śudi 5.

No. X.[16]

L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०
2. क्रे[17] खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर
3. त्ये[18] योसा पेदिकायां [स्र]ाविका प
4. [थ]ी स्थंजमेकं कारापितं ॥ [ये]चि

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahâvîra at Khîṁvâṇâ, made in Saṁvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kârttika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site.

No. XI.[19]

L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्रे गेडीआ
2. राउत्त [मे]घां [सुत्त] वणरां । [धा]रातीर्थे-पतितः ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1282, on the fourth (*day*) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Geḍîâ Râutta (*Râjaputra*) Vaṇarâṁ (*Vanarâja*), the son of Meghâṁ.

The stone must be a so-called Pâliâ.

No. XII.[20]

L. 1. संवत् १२५९
2. षे कार्त्तिक सुदि १
3. शुक्रे । [ज]सदेवसुत

[15] At Munjpur: in the Jâmi Masjid, on a beam.
[16] At Palanpur: on the side of a well.
[17] Read शुक्रे.
[18] Read चैत्ये.
[19] At Palanpur: on a loose stone lying near the railway.
[20] At Roho: on a pillar of the Chhattri of Pârśvanâtha; much defaced.

L. 4. [तो]जो गा — — — श्रे
5. यं — पं — — — कुं
6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

. . . . caused to be made by . . . . son of Jasadeva in Saṁvat 1259, Kârttika sudi 1, a Friday. [22]

No. XIII.[21]

L. 1. संवत् १२६[९] — ती
2. — — — — वदि १४
3. — — — देव —र्य सि
4. रीद्वा — — व — ता
5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.[22]

L. 1. संवत् १२९९ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविसुते[न वाला] केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनाथबिंबं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1299, on the 13th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, a Monday, an image of Neminâtha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vâlâka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛiti-Gotra in the temple of Ṛishabhadevî (?).

No. XV.[23]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[७४]
2. वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-
3. थौ । गुरुवासरे । [डाभी]वंशे । भट्टेसरी [—][24]
4. शाषायां । रांत श्रीमांडणजी । भार्या बाइ
5. श्रीचांपा वापी करापिता । प्र[ा]साद द्वौ सहि-
6. ता प्रतिष्टा करापिता । बाई पुत्री श्रीसज्ज-
7. बाई सहितेना पीरोजी ५१००० एकावन्न
8. सहस्रव्ययो कृता । आ चंद्रार्कं नंद्यात्
9. मासं ११ कार्य वी प्रासाद द्व सहिता कृता ।
10. वंशो विस्तरंबायातु । यातु पुण्यं मह-[25]
11. यश । आयुविपुलतां यातु । यस्यषा वा-[26]
12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] ढाला कृतं ॥
13. पं° — — — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

[21] At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.
[22] At Roho: on the arch over the old well,—first storey.
[23] At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.
[24] L. 3: Probably [जी].
[25] L. 10. Read °तरमा° । °महद्यश.
[26] L. 11. Read °र्विपु° । यस्यैषा.

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁ. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Râṁta Mâṁḍaṇajî, (*whose*) wife (*was*) Châṁpâ, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bâî, spent 51,000 *Pîrojî* (*Rupees*) (*for this purpose*). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (*i.e. the well*), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (*to him*)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Ḍhâlâ was made by Paṁ(ḍita) . . . .

No. XVI.[27]

L. 1. श्री संवत १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगरु आ][28]

2. — मानच्छत्र रात श्रीमडणजी भारय श्रीचप बाइ पूत्री सज्जनजे — पू — [प]ाल

3. सूत्र ना[बा] स — — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —

4. म श्रीनराअ[न] — — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII.[29]

L. 1. संवत १६७८ वर्षे फागणमासे शू पक्षे नवम्यां तथौ शनिवसरे रो [ह]-[30]

2. ॥ णीनच्छत्रे । धंन्या अयोध्यादसरथनृपा साप माताप धांन्या

3. ॥ धंन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रांमनांमप्रवृता । ध्यन्या देसो ऋघ-

4. पतिभवांन्[31] जत्र रांमाअवतारा धन्यो लोको नीआतमगुंणा रांम

5. ॥ वाच्यं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीअरजुणजी: । बाई श्रीपदमां बाई । बाई[32]

6. ॥ श्रीअमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदासजी वेजयराज्ये:[33] । छत्री कारापिता

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, a Saturday, under the Rohiṇî Nakshatra, during the reign of Arajuṇajî, whose wives were Padamâṁ and Amarî, and whose son was Haradâsajî, a Chhatrî was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.[34]

L. 1. सं १६८५ वर्षे श्रवण सुदि ११ दने [हरदास लषना][35]

[27] At Roho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.

[28] Perhaps वारगुरु.

[29] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

[30] L. 1. Read शु(क्रे) । तिथौ । रोहिणी°.

[31] *Bhavân* is meant for *bhagavân*.

[32] The metre of the verse in ll. 2—5 seems to be Mandâkrântâ. It may be restored as follows:—

Dhanyoyodhyâdaśarathanṛipah sâpi mâtâpi dhanyâ,
Dhanyâ vâṇî kavivaramukhe râmanâmapravṛittâ,
Dhanyo deśo raghupatibhavân yatra râmâvatâro,
Dhanyo loko nijatamaguṇâṁ râmavâchaṁ śṛiṇoti.

[33] L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये.

[34] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

[35] L. 1. Read श्रावण.

TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṁvat 1685, Śrâvaṇa Sudi 11, Haradâsa . . . . .

No. XIX.[36]

L. 1. संवत १६[८९] वर्षे आषाढमा[से] [ब]हुलप[क्षे]एकादीसी ११ तथ[ौ][37] रविवासरे — —
2. ॥ धान्या अयोध्यादसरथनप सा माताप धान्या धान्या वांणी कविवरमुखे
3. ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ता: । धन्या देसो [ऋघु]पतिभवान् जित्र रोमाअवतारा धन्या
4. ॥ [लो] का नीअतमगुणा रामवाच्य शृणोती: ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । बा-
5. ई श्रीजिवंती ॥ बाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषद्म नाम संवत्सरो । पूत्र श्रीतोग[बी] व-
6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापित:[38] ॥ २ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Âshâḍha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradâsajî whose wives were Jivantî and Râjû and whose son was Togabî (?), a Chhatrî was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.[39]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नम: आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-
2. सूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो[40] नम: ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे श्रावण व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपजतइं सं [घप]
3. लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांपा । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रूपईय
[— —][41] । आप्या छइं [॥]

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa Saṁ . . . Lâdaṇa, whose wife was Nâthî and his son Saṁ. Haradâsa, Saṁ. Sâṁpâ, Saṁ. Tejâ, Saṁ. Devakaraṇaî, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhaṭṭâraka Vijayadevasûri and Vijayasiṁhasûri were [*living*].

No. XXI.[42]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नम:[43] ॥ संवत १६८९ वर्षे [वदि]
2. [ना] सं० लाडण भार्या ना[थ]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांपा सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]
3. — — — — [सुत याब] — क — — — स्वपति[वुका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-
4. र्थं । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्ये: [कारिता] ॥:

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, in the dark half of . . . Saṁ. Lâḍaṇa, whose wife was Nâtha (?), and his son Saṁ. Haradâsa, Saṁ. Sâṁpâ, Saṁ. Tejâ, Saṁ. Devakaraṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahâvîra.

[36] At Sarotra: in an old chhattri.
[37] L. 1. Read एकादशीतिथौ.
[38] L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये । कारापिता.
[39] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[40] Read °गुरुभ्यो.
[41] Looks like यप.
[42] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct.
[43] Read गुरुभ्यो.

No. XXII.[44]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ [45]भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरूभ्यो नमः ॥

2. सं० १६८९ व० सं लाडण [भा० वा०] [46]नाथी [त्य पूग] सं० हर-

3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेपार्श्वदेहरी कारापिता ॥

Abstract.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, in the dark half of . . . a temple of Pârśva was caused to be made by Saṁ. Lâḍaṇa, whose wife was Nâthî, and his son (?) Saṁ. Haradâsa, and by the family of Saṁ. Tejâ.

No. XXIII.[47]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरूभ्यो न°

2. सं० १६८९ वर्षे फागु° शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतइ वुः हरदास—

3. बु[प]नावु माडण तथा भोज — देभइ रूपए [— —][48] आप्या छ

Abstract.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradâsa, whose father (?) was Mâḍaṇa (Lâḍaṇa?)

No. XXIV.[49]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने वु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतइ]

2. रूपइआ [— —] [50]आप्या छइ ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

Abstract.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, on the completion of this temple, silver . . were given by Karaṇa (?).

No. XXV.[51]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुर[ा]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं° १६८९ वर्षे फागुण शु

2. दि १० दिने वुहरा-[वस्ता]छोकरे ए देहरीनीपजतइ रूपईआ — — आप्या छे — — — —:

3. . . . .

Abstract.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, on the completion of this temple, silver . . were given by the son of . . . . .

[44] At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[45] Read भट्टार°, °गुरु°.
[46] Possibly for भार्या बाई.
[47] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[48] Looks like थवा.
[49] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
[50] Looks like पप.
[51] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

No. XXVI.[52]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु-

2. भ्यो नमः सं० १६८९ वर्षे फा° वदि ११ दिने ए

3. देहरीनीपजतइ वु मा[ता] ताना [रा]ज पालि रूप [य थव]

4. आप्या छइ.॥

Abstract.

In the year Saṁ. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phâ(lguna), on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by . . . .

No. XXVII.[53]

L. 1. । संवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११

2. गन । यद्येह सूणकग्रामे म-

3. हाराण श्री[खे]तलप्रतिपत्तौ

4. लीष ° महिपाकेन देवीश्री-

5. शिवलीयात्रायां नाट [पूजाय]

6. प्रदत्त पा[द्र] सं दि[न] पूमि—

7. [ग्र]नं — — ना माता [त्रियो]—

8. पोलक [ब्रह्मपुरे] सहित [सक]

9. लमपि ग्रा[मं] ॥ श्रीः ॥

Abstract.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Lîsha (?) Mahipâka in Saṁ. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahârâṇa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sûṇaka, on the occasion of the Yâtrâ of Devî Śrîśivalî.

No. XXVIII.[54]

L. 1. । संवत् १५९६ वर्षे

2. श्रावण वदि १३ सोमे — — —

Translation.

In the year Saṁ. 1596, Śrâvaṇa vadi 13, a Monday . . . .

No. XXIX.[55]

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६४२ वरषे आसाढ शुदि १०

2. दने पातसा श्रीअकबर शहि

3. गढीआ° महेस गढी सजा

4. पगी श्री° गोवंद पगी श्रीरांम

[52] At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple.
[53] At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.
[54] At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.
[55] At Taranga:-on the side of the great temple.

L. 5. जईनतु पातया जंगमतीर-
6. थ श्रीहीरविजयसूरिः ॥
7. श्रीवजयसे । नसूरिः ॥
8. तेहना धरमं साचा जांणी
9. श्रीवीसलनगरि संघिमूषि
10. साहा° गणांपति आदर
11. करी गुरथ ठामठामथक
12. गरथ आणीनि प्रासादनु
13. नवो आघार कीथो छिः ॥
14. सो° सवसी कूरीआ
15. उपरि रही कबाडू करा छ
16. सूत्र° गीवाल वडनगर
17. सूत्र° भूपा वीसलनगर
18. कबाडूकरः ॥ सू° गो [पा]
19. रात° साहरुपासरठा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Saṁvat 1642.

VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚATRUMJAYA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śatruṁjaya near Pâlitâṇâ, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Saṁvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Saṁvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.[1] As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskṛit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutuṅga, Râjaśekhara and Jinamaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskṛit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads :—(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India;

[1] The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.

(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

As regards the first point, No. I is the most important document; for it names (l. 1) three Sulṭâns of Gujarât: (1) Mahimûda, (2) Madâphara, and (3) Bâhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Saṁvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shâna (Khân) Majhâdashâna or Majhâdaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakûṭa—(1) Kumbharâja, (2) Râjamalla, (3) Saṁgrâmasiṁha, (4) Ratnasiṁha, which latter ruled in Saṁvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karmasiṁha or Karmarâja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama uddhâra*) and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarîka, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sulṭân Bâhadara, and obtained from him a *sphuraṅmâna, i.e.* a *fermân*, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a *mantrî* Rava (*ravâkhya*) Narasiṁhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sulṭân Bâhadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarât, it deserves to be noticed that Sulṭâns Sikandar and Mahmûd, the two brothers of Sulṭân Bahâdur, who reigned each for a short period after Sulṭân Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khân Majhâd or Majhâdaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahâdur's vazîr in Saṁvat 1587. According to the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî*,[2] that dignity was bestowed on Tâj Khân in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarâja or Karmasiṁha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevâḍ. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Râṇâs agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirât-i-Sikandarî* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasiṁha really ruled in Saṁvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sulṭân of Gujarât were of a friendly nature.

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1. Jahângîr is mentioned as Nûradîna J. Savâi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Saṁvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Saṁvat 1683. Nos. xvii-xx mention also prince Khosrû (*Shâhijâdâ Suratâṇa Shosaḍû*) and the governor (*sobaî*) of Ahmadâbâd (*Râjanagara*), Sulṭân Khurme (*Sahiyâna suratâṇa Shurame*).

2. Shâh Jihân (*Śâhajyâhâṁ*) occurs once in No. xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Saṁvat 1686 and Śaka Saṁvat 1551. The two dates agree perfectly with the facts. And it is also correct that Suraṭâṇa Khurme, *i.e.* Sulṭân Khurram or Shâh Jihân, was viceroy of Gujarât in Saṁvat 1675. For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A.D. 1617. Of interest, too, is the mention of Shâhijâda Suraṭâṇa Shosaḍû, *i.e.* prince Khosrû, (Nos. xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Saṁvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign.

Among the local chiefs of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jâm (*Yâma*) Śatruśalya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navînapura, *i.e.* Ṇavânagar, in Hâllâra, *i.e.* the Halâr Prânt, in Vikrama Saṁvat 1675;

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pâlitâṇâ, *viz.*,—

(*a*) Khâṁdhujî and his son, Śivâjî, in No. xxvii, ll. 38-9, of Vikrama Saṁvat 1683;

[2] *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarât*, by Sir E. C. Bayley, p. 334.

(*b*) Unaḍâjî in No. li, of V. S. 1861;
(*c*) Khaṁdhâji; his son, Noghaṇaji, and his grandson, Pratâpasiṁghajî, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;
(*d*) Noghaṇajî and his son, Pratâpasiṁghaji, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and
(*e*) Pratâpasiṅgajî, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).
(*f*) Sûrasiṁghaji, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navânagar and Pâlitâṇâ, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jâm Jasojî, the son of Jâm Satâjî, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavanta in Jasojî. Satâji is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrsâl, the more usual form for the Sanskṛit Śatruśalya, "an arrow for his enemies." As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f.) that Khândojî II. was succeeded by Shavajî II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavajî is placed five generations before A.D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadjî, A.D. 1766—1820, Khandojî IV., 1820—1840, Noghaṇajî IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratâpsinghjî, 1860, Sûrsinghjî, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghaṇaji receives the proud titles *râjarâjeśvara* and *mahârâjadhirâja*, though the Pâlitâṇâ State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Besides, Thakur Noghaṇajî was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratâpsinghjî managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadâbâd, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachaṁda, *i.e.* Harakhchand of Damaṇa-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phiraṁgijâti Puratakâla pâtasâhi, i.e.* by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapâ, Añchala, and Sâgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 245 ff, and a Kharatara *paṭṭâvali* from the *Praśasti* of the temple of Vâdipura Pârśvanâtha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *paṭṭâvalis* have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

I.—Paṭṭâvali of the Kharatara gachchha.

The following list is given in No. xvii—

1. Ud(d)yotanasûri,
2. Vardhamânasûri, *vasatimârgaprakâśaka*,
3. Jineśvarâsûri I.,
4. Jinachandrasûri I.,
5. Abhayadevasûri, composer of the *Navâṅgî vṛitti*, and discoverer of the Pârśvanâtha of Stambhana,
6. Jinavallabhasûri,
7. Jinadattasûri, to whom a *devatâ* gave the title *yugapradhâna*,[3]
8. Jinachandrasûri II.,

[3] The first seven Sûris are mentioned also in No. xviii.

9. Jinapattisûri,[4]
10. Jineśvarasûri II.,
11. Jinaprabodhasûri,
12. Jinachandrasûri III.,
13. Jinakuśalasûri,
14. Jinapadmasûri,
15. Jinalabdhisûri,
16. Jinachandrasuri IV.,
17. Jinodayasûri,
18. Jinarâjasûri,
19. Jinabhadrasûri,[5]
20. Jinachandrasûri V.,
21. Jinasamudrasûri,
22. Jinahaṁsasûri,
23. Jinamâṇikyasûri,

24. Jinachandrasûri VI,[6] who awakene d the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhâna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahâṁgîra and protected the Sâdhus banished by him.

25. Jinasiṁhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute[7] a *rûpanandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapâdakoṭi*), wandered through Kaṭhina, Kaśmîr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrîpura,[8] Golakuṁḍâ (Golkonda), Gajjaṇâ (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhâna* from Jahâṁgîra-Nûradî-Mahammada.

26. Jinarâja,[9] whose parents were Sâ Dharmasî and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *praśasti* on an ancient image at Ghaṁghâṇîpura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Saṁvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention:—

Jinachandrasûri, Saṁvat 1794,[10] (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasûri,[11] Saṁvat 1887 (No. lx), Saṁvat 1888, Saṁvat 1891 (No. lxviii), Saṁvat 1892 (No. lxix); Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Saṁvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippalîya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v),[12] Saṁvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jinaharsha, Saṁvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinamuktisûri, Saṁvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktisûri at Jesalmîr in 1874, and at Bikânîr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasûri. The pupils of a third Yugapradhâna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

II.—Paṭṭâvali of the Tapâ gachchha.

No. xii mentions first Vardhamâna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Susthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagaṇa (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

[4] This form, which is found also in the Pâtan *Praśasti*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 245ff.

[5] Mentioned also in No. xviii.

[6] Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv.

[7] Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasâhi."

[8] According to No. xviii Śrîkâstîpura, according to No. xix Śrîkâra-Śrîpura, according to No. xxiii Śrîpura.

[9] Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii-xxiv, xxvi.

[10] Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.

[11] This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 245ff.

[12] Nos. lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the

of the Vajrâ śâkhâ (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nâga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidhyâdhara, the third of whom founded the Chândra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Saṁvat 1285 the *Tapâbiruda* (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ânandavimala (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Saṁvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(2) Vijayadâna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.[13]

(3) Hîravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sâhi Akabbara to Mevâta, and persuaded the emperor in Saṁvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujîjia*-tax, and a *śulka*,[14] to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatruṁjaya to the Jainas, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakaṁ bhâṁḍâgâram*), and to become a saint-like king Śreṇika, who converted the head of the Luṁpâkas, Meghajî,[15] made many people adherents of the Tapâ gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarât and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mâlava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatruṁjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hîravijaya belonged to the *Sâpha* race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Saṁvat 1652, Bhâdrapada śukla 10, and his *pâdukâs* were erected in the same year, on Mârga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatîrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lâbhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramâṇa*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Cholî-begam (*Cholî Vegama*), adorned Gujarât. Latest date Saṁvat 1650.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Saṁvat 1676, No. xxxi of Saṁvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Saṁvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pâtiśâhi Jihâṁgîra the title *mahâtâpa*. His appointed successor, Vijayasiṁhasûri, who, according to Klatt (*op. cit.*) died before him (Saṁvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Saṁvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahasrakûṭa *tîrtha* had been dedicated at his request.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Saṁvat 1710. He receives the titles *âchârya* and *sûri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhaṭṭâraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Paṭṭâvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Saṁvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakshamâsûri, No. xxxviii.

Vijayadayâsûri, No. xxxvii, *bhaṭṭâraka*, in Saṁvat 1788 (Sumatisâgara, *ibid.*, also *bhaṭṭâraka*), and in No. xxxviii, Saṁvat 1791.

Vijayajinendrasûri, No. xliv, Saṁvat 1843, Nos. xlvi—xlix, Saṁvat 1860.

Vijayadhaneśvarasûri, No. lxxviii, Saṁvat 1893.

[13] Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Saṁvat 1620.

[14] Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 339 (6th edition). The *Sujîjia* tax is, of course, the *jizya*, or capitation tax on infidels.

[15] Regarding the Luṁpâkas see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on Sanskrit* MSS. *for 1883-84*, p. 153.

Vijayadevendrasûri,[16] No. lxxxvi, Saṁvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Saṁvat 1905, No. xlii, Saṁvat 1908, No. xcvii, Saṁvat 1911, No. civ, Saṁvat 1916, No. cvii, Saṁvat 1924.

Vidyânandasûri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No. ciii, Saṁvat 1916.

A Saṁvijñayamârgîya Tapâ gachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasîhasûri, is mentioned in No. lxxvi of Saṁvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Saṁvat 1940.

III.—Paṭṭâvali of the Añchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.[17]

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Saṁvat 1675 and xxvii of Saṁvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Saṁvat 1921:

(1) Âryarakshita,[18]
(2) Jayasiṁha,
(3) Dharmaghosha,
(4) Mahendrasiṁha,
(5) Siṁhaprabha,
(6) Devendra or Devendrasiṁha,
(7) Dharmaprabha,
(8) Siṁhatilaka,
(9) Mahendra,
(10) Merutuṅga,
(11) Jayakîrti,
(12) Jayakeśari,
(13) Siddhântasamudra or Siddhântasâgara,
(14) Bhâvasâgara,
(15) Guṇanidhâna or Suguṇaśevadhi,
(16) Dharmamûrti,
(17) Kalyâṇasâgara or Kalyâṇasamudra, Saṁvat 1675 and 1683,
(18) Amarodadhi,
(19) Vidyâsûri (Vidyâbdhi),[19]
(20) Udayârṇava, or Udayasâgara,[20]
(21) Kîrtisindhu or Kîrtisâgara, No. li, Saṁvat 1861,
(22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasâgara, (No. li, of S. 1861),
(23) Muktisâgara, Saṁvat 1905,[21]
(24) Ratnodadhi, Saṁvat 1921;
(25) Vivekasâgara, Saṁvat 1940, No. cxi.

IV.—Pâṭṭâvali of the Sâgara-gachchha.

This list is given chiefly in No. xci, where the latest date is Saṁvat 1905:

(1) Râjasâgara,
(2) Vṛiddhisâgara,
(3) Lakshmîsâgara,
(4) Kalyâṇasâgara,
(5) Puṇyasâgara,
(6) Udayasâgara,
(7) Âṇandasâgara,
(8) Śântisâgara, Saṁvat 1886, No. lv, No. lix; Saṁvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxv; Saṁvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix.

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named:—

(1) Râjasâmasûri of the Laghuposâla *gachchha* in No. xlii, dated Saṁvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Aṇandakuśala of the Pâyachanda *gachchha* in No. xcv, dated Saṁvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pâyachanda* is a

[16] Spelt also Vijayadeviṁdra and Vijayadevîdra.

[17] The name Vidhipaksha gachchha occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

[18] Regarding this Âryarakshita, see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Paṭṭâvali* described by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar (*op. cit.*, pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the Âñchara-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

[19] This form is required according to the metre.

[20] No. li.

[21] No. xc. Before him appears Râjendrasâgara, Saṁvat 1886, in No. lvi.

mistake for *Pâsachanda* or *Pâśachanda*, regarding which sect see Bhâṇḍârkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135".

V.—Digambara Paṭṭâvali.

No. xxx, dated Saṁvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kuṁḍakunda (*read Kundakunda*) Âchârya in the Balâtkâragaṇa, the Sarasvatî *gachchha* and the Mûlasaṁgha, *i.e.* the community of the Digambaras, as follows:

(1) Sakalakîrti,
(2) Bhuvanakîrti,
(3) Jñânabhûshaṇa,
(4) Vijayakîrti,
(5) Śubhachandra,
(6) Sumatikîrti,
(7) Guṇakîrti,
(8) Vâdibhûshaṇa,
(9) Râmakîrti,
(10) Padmanandi, the actual head of the sect in Saṁvat 1686.

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Paṭṭâvali* of the Kundakundânvaya, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Osvâls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) Upakeśa *jñâti*, No. xxi; *vaṁsa*, No. xxvi; (2) Ûkeśa or Ukeśa, Nos. xxxiii and lx; (3) Oiśa *vaṁsa*, No. xxxix; (4) Ośa or Osa, mostly with the addition of the termination *vâla* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) Uśa, Nos. i—iii, or Usa, No. cii.

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.[22] The processes by which the forms *Ûkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Oiśa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahârâshṭrî Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prâkṛita vyâkaraṇa*, i, 173).

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Pâlitâṇâ inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8). "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*ruler*) called the illustrious Âmarâja, whom glorious Bappabhaṭṭi awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader."

(Verse 9). "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race."

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Râjakoshṭhâgâra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Âma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭâvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Ama, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Saṁvat 800.[23] I may add that the genealogy of Karmarâja, which is

[22] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 233ff.

[23] See S. P. Paṇḍit, *Gauḍavaho*, pp. cxxviiff.

given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Âma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Saṁvat 1587.

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvâl tribe, *viz.*—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ûhâḍa, No. xxxiii; (2) Châjeḍâ, No. cvi; (3) Nâḍûla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nâhaṭâ, No. lxxx; (5) Muṁmiyâ, No. xcvi; (6) Râjakoshṭhâgâra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lâlaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇîyâ, No. lx; (10) Loḍhá, No. xvi.

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, to which belongs (1) the Nâgaḍâ *gotra*, No. xc; (2) the Shota *gotra*, No. xi.

III.—An Addaiśâkhâ, to which belongs the Kuṁkumalola *gotra*, Nos. xci, xcviii-xcix. The members of this *śâkhâ* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadâbâd, besides claim kinship with the Sîsodiâ Rajputs of Mevâḍ, —see No. xci. Visâ Osavâlas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrîmâlîs, called after the town of Śrîmâla or Bhillamâla, the modern Bhînmâl in the extreme south of Marvâḍ. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśâkhâ, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;

II.—A Laghuśâkhâ, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xliv, the Kâśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramâra Râjputs.

A Vîsâ Śrîmâlî occurs in No. xcv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prâgvâṭa tribe, called also Prâgavaṁsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravâḍa or Poravâla, (pronounce Porvâḍ and Porvâl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśâkhâ. Vîsâ Poravâḍas or Poravâlas are named in Nos. 1 and xcvii; Dasâ-Porvâḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, *viz.* Gûrjara *jñâti*, No. x; Dîsâvâla *jñâti*, No. vii; Dûgaḍa *gotra*, No. liv; Niṁma *jñâti*, No. ciii; Mohotâ *gotra*, No. cv; Saṁghavâla *gotra*, and Kâchara *saṁtâna*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

(1) Ajamera, *i.e.* Ajmîr in Râjputânâ,
(2) Aṇahillapura, also called Pattana,
(3) Antarapura in Vâgvaradesa or Duṅgarpur,
(4) Ahmadâbâd, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Râjanagara, 'the capital,'
(5) Ugrasenapura,
(6) Kapaḍavaṇaja in the Khedâ Collectorate,
(7) Kâśî, or Benares,
(8) Koṭhârâ in Kachh,
(9) Khambanayara, *i.e.* probably Cambay,
(10) Ghandhâra in the Bharoch Collectorate,
(11) Chitrakûṭa, or Chiṭor in Mevâḍ,

(12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
(13) Jesalamera, *i.e.* Jesalmîr in Marvâḍ,
(14) Damaṇa bandira, *i.e.* Daman in Gujarât.
(15) Dîvabaṁdira or Diu in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(16) Devagiri or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
(17) Dhaṇapura,
(18) Nabhînpura, in Kachh,
(19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
(20) Navânagara, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(21) Pâlaṇapura, in Northern Gujarât,
(22) Bâluchara,
(23) Bhâvanagara, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
(24) Makasudâvâda—Bâluchara or Makśudâvâda,
(25) Mumbâi, or Bombay,
(26) Mesâṇa, in Gujarât,
(27) Râdhanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
(28) Vîkaṇera, or Bîkâner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
(29) Vîsalanagara, in Northern Gujarât,
(30) Sirohi, in Southern Râjputânâ,
(31) Surata baṁdira, in Gujarât.

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjanagara occurs most frequently.

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pâlitâṇâ inscriptions will be a perfect mine; for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned.

No. I.[24]

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरित्र्यां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टप्रभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-
पट्टोद्योतकारक ॥

2. पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीबाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधरषान-
श्रीमझादषानव्या-

3. पारि श्रीशत्रुंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दो० करमाकृतसप्तमोद्धारसत्का प्रशस्तिर्लिख्यते ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-

4. दो जीयात युगादिजिननायकः ।
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १[25]
श्रीमेदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [।]
भावेन भ-

5. व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।
श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो [।]
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्म्याः ॥ २[26]

[24] In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Âdîśvara Bhagavân;—see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, &c.* (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.

[25] Metre of verse 1, Anushṭubh. Read °जीयात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.

[26] Metre of verses 2—4, Upajâti. Read °क्ष्मा.

सच्चंदनो दातृसुरद्रुमश्च [।]
तुं-

L. 6. ग: सुवर्णोपि विहारसार: ।
जिनेश्वरस्नात्रपवित्रभूमि: [।]
श्रीचित्रकूट: सुरशैलतुल्य: ॥ ३
विशालसालक्षिति-

7. लोचनाभो [।]
रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी [।]
विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [।]
लोकस्तु यत्राखिलकूटसुक्त: ॥ ४
तत्र श्रीकुं-

8. भराजो ऽभूत् कुंभोद्भवनिभो नृप: ।
वैरिवर्ग: समुद्रो हि येन पीत: क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५[27]
[त] त्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभूद्राज्ञां म-

9. ल्ल इवोत्कट: ।
सुत: संग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृप: ॥ ६
तत्पट्टभूषणमणि: सिंहेंद्रवत्पराक्रमी ।
रत्नसिंहा ऽ[28]

10. धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७
इतश्च गोपाद्रिगिरौ गरिष्ट: [।]
श्रीबप्पभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।
श्रीआमराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11. पत्नी [।]
काचिद्बभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८[29]
तत्कुक्षिजाता[:]किल राजकोष्टा [।]
गाराद्रगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।
श्रीउशवंशे विशदे

12. विशाले [।]
तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धा: ॥ ९[30]
श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।
लक्ष्मीसिंह: पुत्रो[°त्रस्त°]तत्पु-

13. त्रो भुवनपालाख्य: ॥ १०[31]
श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो — —[32] रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्र: ।
षेताकस्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंह: ततस-

[27] Metre of verses 5—7, Anushṭubh.
[28] Read °हो°.
[29] Metre: Upajâti. Read गरिष्ठ:.
[30] Metre: Indravajrâ. Read °कोष्टा । श्रीश्री° पुरुषा:.
[31] Metre of verses 10—19, Âryâ.
[32] Looks like वक्र

L. 14. [— — —][33] ॥ ११
तत्पुत्रस्तोलाख्यः पत्नी तस्याः[स्य]प्रभूतकुलजाता ।
तारादे परनाम्नी लीलू पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२
तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भवताः ष[ट्]
.. 15. पुत्रा[34] कल्पपादपाकाराः [।]
[धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवंतः श्रीकृतो ऽन्येषां ॥ १३
प्रथमो र[त्ना]ख्यसुतः सम्यक्त्वोद्योतकारकः कामं ।
16. श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो]येन ॥ १४
तस्या ऽस्ति कोमला पाल्पवल्लीव[35] विशदात्सदा ।[36]
भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्र[ः]श्रीरंगना-
17. मासौ ॥ १५
भ्राता ऽन्यः पोमाह्वः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।
पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणिक्यहीराह्वौ ॥ १६
बंधुर्गणस्तृ-
18. तीयभार्या[37]गुणरत्नराशिविख्याता [।]
गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७
तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-
19. रुभक्ता ।
देवल[दू]रमदेव्यौ पुत्रः केल्हाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८
भ्राता ऽन्यो भोजाख्यः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।
20. भावलहर्षमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमंडणो जीयात् ॥ १९
सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणैः प्रयुक्तः
श्रीकर्मराजो
21. भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सूहविनामधे[या] ॥ २०[38]
कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [।]-
देवी पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया ।
श्रीभीषजी-
22. कस्वकुलोदयाद्रि-[39]
सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१
श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनबिंबपूजा-
पदप्रतिष्टादिकवर्मधुर्याः ।
सुपात्रदानेन प-
23. वित्रमात्राः
सर्वेदृशाः सत्पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२[40]
श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेयः ।
श्रीकर्मसिंहदत्तो मुख्यो

[33] Read °तो जातः.
[34] Read पुत्राः.
[35] Read कल्पवल्लीव. Above पा there is a mark.
[36] Read विशदा सदा.
[37] Read °तीयो.
[38] Metre: Upajâti.
[39] Metre: Indravajrâ. Read °जीकः.
[40] Metre: Upajâti. Read °तिष्ठा°। सर्वे° stands for सर्व दृ°.

L. 24. व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३[41]
श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं श्रु[त्वा]सद्गुरुसंनिधौ ।
तस्योद्धारकृते भावः कर्मराजस्य — द्यभूत् ॥ २४[42]
आग-
25. त्य गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे ।
वसंति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽद्भुताः ॥ २५
तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीशश्रीमत् ऽ ऽ ऽ
26. बाहदरो नृपः ।
तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६
राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः षानः श्रीमान् मभादकः ।
तस्य गेहे म-
27. हामंत्री रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७
तस्य सन्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च ।
उद्धारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुंजये गिरौ
28. ॥ २८
श्रीपादलिप्तललनासरशुद्धदेशे
सद्वाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] ।
श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां
चक्रे महोत्स-
29. ववरः सुगुरूपदेशात् ॥ २९[43]
चंचच्चंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा-
वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालविभवासाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]
30. कं ।
वस्त्रालंकृति[हेम]तुंगतुरगादीनां च स[द्र]र्षण-
मेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरवरे बिंबप्रतिष्टापनं ॥ ३०[44]
विक्रमसमयातीते ति-
31. थिमितसंवत्सरेऽ श्ववसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।
शाके जगत्त्रिबाणे ५३ वैशाषे कृष्णाषष्ठ्यां च ॥ ३१[45]
मिलिताः सूरयः संघा मार्गणसु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।
वहमाने धनुर्लग्ने प्रतिष्टा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२[46]
लावण्यसमयाख्येन पंडितेन महात्मना ।
स[प्त]मोद्धारसत्का
33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३
श्रीमद्धा[हदर]क्षितीशवचनादागत्य शत्रुंजये [।]
प्रासादं विदधाप्य येन द्व — ा — बिंबमा-

[41] Metre: Âryâ.
[42] Metre of verses 24—28, Anushṭubh.
[43] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[44] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Tead गिरि०, ०ष्ठा० The context is not clear.
[45] Metre: Âryâ. Read ०षष्ठ्यां.
[46] Metre of verses 32, 33, Anushṭubh. Read ०ष्ठा। वरा.

L. 34. रोप्य च ।

उद्धारः किल सप्तमः कलियुगे चक्रेथ ना — — —
जीयादेष सदोशवंशमुकुटः श्रीकर्मराजश्चिरं ॥ ३४[47]

य-

35. त्कर्मराजेन कृतं सुकार्य-
मन्येन केनापि कृतं हि तत्रो ।
यन्म्लेच्छराज्ये[पि नृपा]त्तयैवो-
द्धारः कृतः सप्तम एष येन ॥ ३५[48]

36. स — — —[49]र्थाणि बह्वनि संघे
कुर्वंति भव्याः परम[त्र] काले ।
कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणैवो-
द्धारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मलाद्रिशृंगे । ३६[50]
श्रीचित्रकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।
कर्माख्यभानोरुदयान्वितस्य ।
शत्रुंजये बिंबविहारकृत्य-
[कर्मा-

38. व]लीयं स्फुरतीति चित्रं ॥ ३७[51]
श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिनः
श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्त्तिरु[ज्वला] ।
देशेष्वनेकेष्वपि [संचरत्य]-

39. हो
ज्योत्स्नेव चंद्रस्य नभोविहारिणः ॥ ३८[52]
दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरत्राणाय तन्मानतो
यात्रा येन [नृ]-

40. णां च संघपतिना शत्रुंजये कारिता ।
साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा ऽर्हता-
मित्थं वर्णनमुच्यते किय-

41. दहो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३९[53]
येनोद्धारः शुभवति नगे कारितः पुंडरीके ।
स्वात्मोद्धारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-

42. तस्तेन चक्रे ।
येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता
स्तेन त्रिभुवनतले सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४०[54]

सौम्यत्वे-

[47] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[48] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[49] Perhaps सत्पुण्यकार्याणि.
[50] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[51] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[52] Metre: Indravaṁśâ.
[53] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °ष्ठा.
[54] Metre: Mandâkrântâ. Read °ष्ठा, तेन, °ष्ठा.

L. 43. न निशामणिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च
वंशोद्दीपनकारणात् गृहमणिश्चिंतामणिदानतः ।
धर्मात् आद्यशिरोम-

44. णिर्मदविषध्वस्तन्मणिर्भोगिनः
एकानेकमयो गुणैर्नवनवैः श्रीकर्मराजः सुधीः ॥ ४१[55]
तोलासुतः सुतन[यो]

45. विनयोज्वलश्च
लीलासुकुचिनलिनीशुचिराजहंसः ।
सन्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुंगवानां
सद्बंधवांधवयुतो

46. — — कमराजः ॥ ४२[56]
कर्मी श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।
तेषां शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्टः पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३[57]

47. श्यधीशः पुंडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[वः]कपर्दिराट् ।[58]
आद्यश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवंत्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥
श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थोद्धारे ।

48. कमठा[य] सनिध्यकारक सा° जइता भा° बाई चांपू पुत्र नाथा भ्रातृ कोता ॥ अहम्मदा-
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कोला

49. पुत्र सूत्रधार विरू[पा]सू° भीमा ठ° वेला ठ° वछा ॥ श्रीचित्रकूटादागत सू° टीला सू
पोमा सू° गांगा सू° गोरा सू° ढाला

50. सूत्र° देवा ॥ सूत्र° नाकर सू° नाईआ सू° गोविंद सू° विणायग सू° टीला सू° वछा सू
भाणा सू० का[द्वा] सूत्र°

51. देवदास सू° टीका सू° ठाकर — — प° काला वा० विणायग ठा° छाम ठा° हीरा सू°
दमोदर वा० हराज सू० थान

52. ॥ मंगलं आदिदेवस्य मंगलं विमलाचले । मंगलं [59]सर्कलसंघस्य मंगलं लेखकस्य च । पं°
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि

53. [ता प्र]शस्ति ॥[60]पूज्य पं° समयरत्नशिष्य पं° लावण्यसमयखिसंध्यं श्रीआदिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति
भद्रं ॥ श्रीः

54. — °हरपति । ठा° हांसा ठ° मूला ठा° कृष्णा ठा का[द्वा] ठा° हषा सू° माधव सू° बाद्र ॥ लो
सहज

No. II.[61]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥[62] संवत[त्]१५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [वैशा]ख वदि ६ । रवौ ॥ श्रीचित्र [कूट]

2. वास्तव्यश्रीउशवा[स]ज्ञातीय[63] वृद्धशाषाया[64] दो° नरसिंह सुत दो° [सि]ला भार्या वाई लील
पुत्र ६ दो

Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita. Read °साम्र°.
Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
Metre of verses 43-44, Anushṭûbh.—
Read °राट्.
Read सर्वसं°.
Read °स्तिः.

[61] On the base of the image of Âdinâtha in the great temple.—J. B.
[62] Looks like एद°.
[63] Read °वाल°.
[64] Read शाखायां.

L. 3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो° पोमा भा° पंयादे द्वि° पटमादे पुत्र माणिकहीर दो°गणा भा° गुराद [द्वि]° गारवदे पु° दवा

4. दो° दशरथ भा° देवलदे द्वि° टूरमदे पुत्र केहला दो० सोसा भा° भावलदे द्वि° [सु] षम[दे पु] — — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— वं] धव श्रीमद्राजसभाशृंगारहारश्रीशत्रुंजयसप्तमोद्धार-

5. कारक दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे द्वि° कामलदे पुत्र भीषजी पुत्री बाई सोभां वा° सोना वा° मन वा° प्रता प्रमुषसमस्तकुटंबश्रेयोर्थं[65] शत्रुंजयमुख्यप्रासादो [द्धा] रे श्रीआदिनाथबिंबं प्रतिष्टापितं[66] । मं° रवी मं° नरसिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्टितं[67] श्रीसूरिभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.[68]

L. 1. श्रीं ॥ संवत [त्] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाष दि

2. श्रीउशवंशे बृद्धशाषायां दो° तोला भा° बाई लीलू सुत दो° रत्ना दो° पोमा

3. दो° गणा दो° दशरथ दो° भोजा दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे । कामलदे पु° भीषजी सहितेन श्रीपुंडरीकबिंबं कारितं श्रीः ॥

No. IV.[69]

L. 1. [70]श्रीं ॥ श्रीं नमः ॥ संवत् [१६]२० वर्षे आषाढ शुदि २ रवौ ।

2. गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वंश]दोसी । श्रीगोईआ सुत दौ ।

3. नेजपाल भार्या बोई[71] [भोड]की सुत दौ । पंचारण ।

4. भ्रातृ दौ । भीम दौ । नने दौ । देवराजप्रमुख ।

5. [स्व]कुटंबेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।

6. कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागच्छेविबुशिमणि [72]श्री-

7. विजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[त्]

8. शुभं भवतु ॥ :श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.[73]

L. 1. ॥ [74] श्रीं ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे कार्तग शुदि २ दने

2. गंधारवास्तवं श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय सा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।

3. भार्या बाई [पू]तल शुत सा । श्रीवर्धमांन भार्या बाई

4. वमलादे श्रमरादे शुत सा । श्रीरांमजी भाई सा[75] । श्री-

5. लहुजी सां । हंस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुषस्वकुटं-

6. बेन युतः श्रीसेत्रंजयोपरि श्रीशांतिनाथप्रासा-

7. दं चोमष कारापित । श्रीतपागच्छेविबुधशरो [शिरो-]

8. मणिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-

9. वतु[॥]

[65] Read °सुख°.

[66] Read °श्रा°.

[67] Read °ष्ठि°.

[68] On the base of the image of Puṇḍarîka in the temple facing Âdîśvara Bhagavân's temple: *Lists, u. s.* p. 196, No. 88.—J. B.

[69] In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Âdîśvara: conf. *Lists*, p. 194, Nos. 38—43.—J. B.

[70] At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like ए.

[71] Read बाई.

[72] Read °बुधशिरोमणि.

[73] In the Gandhâria Chaumukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Âdîśvara temple. *Lists*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.

[74] Looks like एई.

[75] The middle bar of the स is wanting.

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ERRATA IN PART VI.

Page 317, to footnotes, lines 2 and 3 in first column, prefix the reference figures [7] and [8].
" 328, note [15], *for* खैबरितै° *read* खैबरितै°.
Pages 329 to 336 of this part ought to have been issued as the last sheet of Part VI.

PAPERS ON HAND FOR PART VIII.

Further Mathurâ Inscriptions; by Prof. G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.
Pâlitâṇâ Jaina Inscriptions; by the same.
Three New Land Grants from Sâṅkheḍâ; by H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B.
Gujarât Inscriptions; by J. Kirste, Ph.D.
On Hindu Dates in Inscriptions; by Prof. H. Jacobi, Ph.D.
Kṛishṇâpura Inscription of Kṛishṇarâya; by E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

No 1859

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ! Oṁ! (*May*) success (*attend*)!

(*Verse* 1.) May the divine Gaṅgâ on Śiva's head protect you, (*she who is*) attenuated as it were with jealousy, at seeing half his body appropriated by the daughter of the mountain!

(2.) Glory be to that one friend of the god of love, who gladdens the eyes (*and is*) the head-ornament of the moon-crested (Śiva),—the moon, from whom here on earth there has sprung a race which has freed Fortune from the blemish of fickleness!

(3.) In that (*race*) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame is sung by the Vidyâdharas, (*who was*) the pitcher-born (Agastya[24]) in swallowing that ocean—Karṇa, (*and*) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom,[25]—the illustrious Kîrtivarman.

(4.) From him (*sprang*) the prince Sallakshaṇa whose sword took away the fortune of the Mâlavas and Chedis; and after him the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose one glory was victory.

(5.) After him Pṛithvîvarman was king, similar to Pṛithu; and then Madana ruled over the kingdom, a god of love[26] to opponents.

(6.) Then came the illustrious king Paramardin, who, as a leader, even in his youth, struck down opposing heroes, (*and*) to whom the fortune of universal sovereignty quickly came, like an enamoured damsel choosing him of her own free will.

(7.) Then the prince Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very creator in providing strong places. Like Vishṇu he was, in lifting up the earth, immerged in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas.

(8.) Victorious is his son Vîra, that ruler of the earth of spotless bravery who has delighted the damsels of heaven by sending them, as lovers, the hostile heroes whom he cut down on the field of battle.

(9.) Victorious (*and*) to be worshipped by all men is he whom, when he strikes down the wicked (*and*) disperses crowds of opponents, people gaze at—wondering whether he be Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa or Śiva roaming about on his bull.—

(10.) In the race of Dadhîchi there was the illustrious [Châ]ḍala, endowed with marvellous true glory, an object of reverence for the Kshatriyas; and he had a most excellent son, named Śrîpâla, who was bravery, as it were, incarnate.

(11.) His son, to be revered even by crowned heads, was Maheśvara, whom people declare to be properly so named, when he disports himself, valiant like a bull.

(12 *and* 13.) He married the prince Govindarâja's daughter, unsurpassed for virtuous conduct, who, for her extraordinary deeds, like Śiva's wife, must always be honoured by faithful wives,—the lady Vesaladevî (?), endowed with both beauty and excellent qualities. Her daughter, now, is Kalyâṇadevî, of great renown.

(14.) When she became the chief queen of the illustrious king Vîra, like unto Śrî (*when she became the wife*) of the enemy[27] of Kaiṭabha, this lady by her pleasing, noble and holy deeds became famous for ever.

[24] The sage Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

[25] Or, perhaps, 'in creating new kingdoms.'

[26] In the original the passage is quite clear, and admits of no other interpretation than the one given above. The word *madana* itself is one of the synonyms of *manmatha*.

[27] *i. e.*, Vishṇu.

(*V.* 15.) What need is there to describe her, unsurpassed for pleasing conduct (*and*) well-known the earth over for her pure fame,—her, who by truthful speech has at once surpassed that world-renowned lord of justice (Yudhishṭhira)?

(16.) To some Vaśishṭha's wife[28] is an object of reverence; others indeed adore the splendid daughter of the mountain who is the half of Śiva's body; some again have glorified Gaṅgâ, (*and*) others take pains to praise the beloved of Kâma. They all cannot have set eyes on the unblemished Kalyâṇadevî, who for truth and other excellent qualities is famed in song.

(17.) Having perceived that life, fortune, and the charms of youth stay no longer than the water which glitters on a lotus-leaf, that widely praised beautiful women(?) have fallen into the gross darkness of delusion, (*and*) that the creeper of good fame alone is everlasting, Kalyâṇadevî, to make that (*creeper of fame*) grow, ... the qualities of truth and generosity.

(18.) Then, having ascertained that (*this*) spot is guarded by the arms of strong men (?), she, full of compassion, made this *Nirjara*[29] well, filled with nectar-like water, to sustain life.

(19.) She, of great renown, gave for the *Nirjara* (*well*) one drinking cup (?) and she built this pure, bright hall for the supply of water (?).

(20.) She, who has brightened the earth with her fame, has made at Nândîpura a tank which resembles the ocean, (*and*) a hall with a lofty top (?).—

(21.) The intelligent Ratnapâla, a son of the poet Haripâla and grandson of the poet Vatsarâja, has composed this pure eulogy.

(22.) In the Vikrama year measured by the seas (7), the moon (1), the fires (3), and the moon (1), has the pure-minded, skilful Râma engraved it.

In the year 1317, during the office of the Râuta, the illustrious Jêtana (?), in the reign of the illustrious Vîravarman, on Thursday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha.

. . . . . .

II.

ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHOJAVARMAN.

This inscription[1] is on a rock near the "Tarhaoni" or "Tirhawan" gate of the fort of Ajaygaḍh. It contains sixteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6′ 10½″ broad by 2′ 3″ high. The first fifteen lines extend over the whole breadth of the inscribed surface; the last line measures only 1′ 4″ in length, and is engraved in very small characters close below the beginning of line 15. With the exception of about ten *aksharas* at the commencement of line 15 which either have gone altogether or are greatly damaged, and the whole of the short line 16 which is illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved. The size of the letters in lines 1-15 is about 1⅛.″ The characters are the peculiar kind of Nâgarî which we find also in several Mahobâ and Kâlañjar inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries, and the special features of which

[28] *i. e.*, Arundhatî.

[29] *i. e.*, 'not growing old, never failing.'

[1] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, pp. 47, 53, and 88. The inscription has not been previously edited, but a photo-lithograph of it was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *ib.*, plate xv. I edit it from Sir A. Cunningham's own rubbing, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Fleet.

may be seen in the photo-lithographs,[2] published in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xv and xxi-xxiii. Here I need only state that in the present inscription it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ch* and *v*, those for *chch*, *vv*, and *gh*, and those for *p* and *b;* and that a sign representing both the *jihvâmûlîya* and the *upadhmânîya*, which does not differ at all from the ordinary sign for *sh*, has been employed before the words *karaṇâs* and *padmâ°*, in line 2.

The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *oṁ namaḥ Kedârâya*, the whole is in verse. The language is fluent, but not always correct. Thus, to mention some of the most striking mistakes, in line 1 we have *shaṭtriṁśatiḥ* or *shaṭtriṁśataḥ* for *shaṭtriṁśat;* in line 4 *niśipati* for *niśâpati* 'the moon;' in line 13 *vâṅmin* for *vâgmin;* in line 15 the form *kriyatâm*, derived from the root *kṛi* 'to make;' and the verses 19 and 20 do not admit of a proper construction. A term, which I have not met with elsewhere, is *viśisha*, in lines 4 and 8, probably denoting the superintendent or commander of a fort. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is generally denoted by the sign for *v*, when it is preceded and followed by a vowel (*e.g.*, in *vivudha*, line 1, *Savarân*, line 10, etc.), and by its own proper sign, when combined with another consonant (*e.g.*, in *garbbha* and *avilambitam*, in line 3); but we have twice *babhûva*, even after a vowel, in lines 6 and 7. The dental sibilant is nine times used for the palatal (*e.g.*, in *śasi-*, line 1, *âsu* and *saila-*, line 4), and the palatal for the dental in *praśûnair*, line 6, and *vilâśa-*, line 13. Besides it may be noted that, instead of *yy*, we have the conjunct *jy*, in *vigaṇajya*, lines 8 and 10, and, instead of *khy*, *ksh*, in *Jayâkshe*, line 8 (but not in line 11), and *prakshâta*, line 14; and that *ujjvala*, as usual, is spelt *ujvala*, in line 9.

The immediate object of the inscription would appear to be, to record (in verses 28-31) the construction of a temple by Subhaṭa, the superintendent of the treasury of the king Bhoja or Bhojavarman. But in reality the inscription furnishes an account of the clan to which Subhaṭa belonged, or of the more prominent members of that clan, the Vâstavya race of Kâyasthas, some of whom held positions of importance under the Chandella kings Gaṇḍa, Kîrtivarman, Paramardin, Trailokyavarman, and Bhojavarman.

The Kâyastha clan of the Vâstavyas derived its origin from Vâstu, who resided at Ṭakkârikâ, one of a group of thirty-six[3] towns which were 'purified by the fact that men of the writer caste dwelt in them' (vv. 2-4). In this clan was born the Ṭhakkura Jâjûka, who held a position of trust under king Gaṇḍa, and was honoured by him with the grant of the village of Dugauḍa (vv. 5-7). From him was descended Mâheśvara, who by Kîrtivarman was appointed *Viśisha* of Kâlañjara and endowed with the grant (of the village) of Pipalâhikâ (vv. 8-9). The next member of the family mentioned is Gadâdhara, counsellor and chamberlain of king Paramardin (v. 10), who with his younger brother Jauṇâdhara fought at Kâlañjara (v. 11), and who had another brother, Mâlâdhara, also distinguished as a warrior (v. 12). After them came Âlhû, his son Śobhana, and his son Vîdana (vv. 13-15). Vîdana's son was Vâśe or Vâśeka, who by king Trailokyavarman was appointed *Viśisha* of the fort of Jaya or Jayapura (the present Ajaygaḍh), and endowed with the grant of the village of Varbhavarî. He

[2] Compare also *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, p. 665, and plate xxxii.

[3] This expression would lead one to look for some territorial name, such as Chhattîspur, but I find only *Chhattîsgaḍh*.

defeated one Bhojûka, who had either risen in rebellion against Trailokyavarman or conquered part of his territory, and he generally pacified the kingdom and rendered it secure against foreign enemies. He also built a temple and a tank at Jayapura (vv. 16-20). His younger brother was Ânanda who, as governor of the fort, subdued the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śabaras, and Pulindas (vv. 21-22). Ânanda's son was Ruchira (vv. 23-25), who had three sons, Gopati (v. 26), Mahipâla (v. 27), and Subhaṭa, of whom the last, as stated above, was superintendent of the treasury of king Bhojavarman (vv. 28-30). After verse 31, the inscription has two more verses, the second of which is illegible, and the first of which relates that Mahipâla again had three sons, one of whom was named Kîrtipâla.

The Vâstavya family is mentioned also in other Chandella inscriptions.[4] Thus, the two inscriptions from Mahobâ, of which we have photo-lithographs in *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plates xxii and xxiii, and one of which is dated in Vikrama 1240, record that in the illustrious great Vâstavya family there was one Sûhila, the son of Hallaṇa (?). An inscription from Ajaygaḍh, referred to *ib.*, p. 53, mentions, according to Sir A. Cunningham, the Ṭhakkura, the illustrious Vidana, who no doubt is the Vîdana spoken of in the present inscription. And the inscription from Ajaygaḍh, edited in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, pp. 882-884, in its concluding lines, contains the name of another member of the Vâstavya family of Kâyasthas, who is described as *pratolikânvita-Jayapuradurgg-âdhipa*, 'governor of the fort of Jayapura with the street (*pratolikâ*) belonging to it.'

The five Chandella kings mentioned in this inscription are all well known from other inscriptions. But attention may be drawn to the circumstance that Kîrtivarman (in verse 9) is here described as the crest-jewel of the princes in the Pîtaśaila or Yellow-Mountain districts, a territorial name which, so far as I know, has not been met with elsewhere. The name of Bhojûka, the opponent of Trailokyavarman (whose latest known inscriptional date[5] at present is Vikrama 1298), occurs perhaps in an inscription at Ajaygaḍh[6] of the Vikrama year 1325, which mentions one Abhayadeva, apparently described as the son of Bhojûka.[7]

The town of Ṭakkârikâ, and the villages of Dugauḍa, Pipalâhikâ, and Varbhavarî, which are mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

The inscription closes rather abruptly, and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated. But, since for the king Bhojavarman we have the date[8] Vikrama 1345, it may be assigned to about the end of the 13th century A.D.

[4] A *Vâstavya-vaṁśa* is mentioned also in line 27 of the Malhâr inscription of the Chedi year 919 = A.D. 1167-68, *ante*, p. 42; a *Vâstavya-kula* in line 5 of the Seṭ-Maheṭ inscription of the Vikrama year 1276 = A.D. 1219-20, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 62; and a *Vâstavya-kâyastha* in an inscription at Garhwa of the Vikrama year 1199, Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. III, plate xxi, 1.

[5] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 234.

[6] See *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXI, plate xiv, F.

[7] Similar names are Vâjûka, Dandûka, and Khojûka; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 235.

[8] In the inscription of Nâna, the minister of Bhojavarman, badly edited in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, pp. 882-884. Nâna was one of the three sons of Ratnasiṁha, of whom that inscription records :—

दिग्जनीकर्णकुहरविश्रान्तयशसान्तु ते ।
चन्द्रावियनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्वमुपागताः ॥ २४ ॥

ततः स विश्रानवि(नि)धिर्म्मनीषी मनीरमो नान इति प्रतीतः ।
श्रीभोजवर्म्माणमुपेत्य नाथं स्वमन्त्रमिवोदयमाततान ॥ २५ ॥ —

which will dispose of "the horse sent to Bhoja Varma." The inscription was composed by the poet Amara (not Amarapati), in Vikrama 1345, expressed in figures and in words (the latter, contrary to the ordinary rule according to which the unit should be mentioned first, being—

चणदेशेचणमतश्रुतिभूतसमन्विते संवत्सरे).

TEXT.[9]

L. 1. श्रीं[10] नमः केदाराय ॥

गङ्गातरङ्गतरलीकृतसर्प्पराजवे[ष्टा]य चारुशसि(शि)खण्डविभूषणाय ।
कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पशमनाय सुरार्च्चिताय केदाररूपवि[ष्टु]ताय[11] नमः शिवाय ॥ १ ॥[12]
षट्त्रिंशतिः[13] करणकर्म्मनिवासपूता आसन्पुरः परमसौख्यगुणातिरिक्ताः ।
तन्मध्यगा विवु(बु)धलोकमता वरिष्ठा टक्कारिका समजनि स्पृहणीयकल्पा ॥ २ ॥
सर्व्वो[प]कारकरणै-

2. कनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्थे पावसुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य ।
कल्पावसानसमयस्थितये पु[रीं][14] यां वास्तुः स्वयं समधिगम्य समाससाद ॥ ३ ॥
तस्यां श्रुतेर्त्रिनदसङ्घनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंशभविनङ्करणास्त आसन् ।
आशाः समस्तभुवनानि यदीयकीर्त्त्या पूर्णानि हंसधवलानि विशेषयन्त्या ॥ ४ ॥
विद्याश्चतुर्द्दश कलाः सकलाः समीयुष्पद्माभिरा-

3. ममिव वल्लभमायताक्ष्यः ।
यं गर्भसंस्थमविलम्बितमद्वितीयं दुःखं वियोगजमसंवृतमुद्वहन्त्यः ॥ ५ ॥
तद्वंशतः स उदपादि नरेश्वरेण गण्डाह्वयेन[15] युधि दुर्ज्जयतां गतेन ।
जाजूकसंज्ञ इति ठक्कुर[ध]र्म्मयुक्तः सर्व्वाधिकारकरणेषु सदा नियुक्तः ॥ ६ ॥
आराध्य[16] तं नृपतिमण्डलमण्डनैकं देवं गदाधरमिवाच्युतवासमाद्यम् ।

4. कायस्थवंशनलिनीगणतादिनेशो ग्रामं दुगौडमपि ताम्रकमासु(शु) लेभे ॥ ७ ॥
तत्सन्ततौ सकलवाङ्मयपारद(द)श्वा[17] भूभूषणं निशिपतेरिव कान्तिभर्त्ता ।
मोहान्धकारकुहरेषु निपातहर्त्ता माहेश्वरः समभवत्सुकृताभिसर्त्ता ॥ ८
यः पीतसै(शै)लविषयेषु महीपतीनां चूडामणिं समनु[सं]व्य समार्ज्जयच्च ।
श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपतिं वि-

5. शिषाभिधानं कालञ्जरस्य पिपलाह्विकया समेतम्[18] ॥ ९ ॥
तस्मिन्कुले महति सज्जनलोकजुष्टे गङ्गाधरः समुदभूत्सचि[वो]भिरामः ।
नूनं विचार्य परमर्द्दिनरेश्वरेण युक्तः स [कञ्चुकि]तया[19] परया तु धीरः ॥ १० ॥
जीणाधरस्तदनुजः सहकर्म्मचारी सदा रतः समरकर्म्मणि मोक्षकारी ।
तौ वीरमार्गमनुसृत्य गिरौ गरिष्ठे

6. कालञ्जरे युयुधतुर्व्विशिखा[कु]लेन[20] ॥ ११ ॥
तथैव मालाधरनामधेयस्तस्य द्वितीयो ऽजनि वीरमुख्यः ।
सुरैः सदा कल्पतरुप्रशू(सू)नैरभ्यर्च्चितो यः समरेषु रेमे ॥ १२ ॥[21]
क्रमेण तस्मिन्प्रबभूव धीर आल्हू प्रतोलीरुचिराधिकारः [।×]

[9] From the rubbing.
[10] Expressed by a symbol.
[11] Of the *akshara* in brackets only the vowel is indistinct.
[12] Metre of verses 1—11, Vasantatilakâ.
[13] Probably altered, in the original, to षट्विंशतः. The plural of the numeral is of course grammatically incorrect.
[14] Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvâra* is doubtful. The spelling of this word is quite clear and distinct in the rubbing.
[16] Originally आरध्य, altered to आराध्य
[17] Originally सकलवाङ्मयप॰; but the superfluous म appears to have been struck out.
[18] Originally समेताम्, but altered to समेतम्.
[19] Originally कुञ्चिकतया, but clearly altered to कञ्चुकितया.
[20] The *akshara* in brackets is somewhat doubtful, and might possibly be read च्छ.
[21] Metre of verses 12—14, Upajâti.

येनावरुद्धे कलुषे द्वषेण सदैव रेमे रभसेन दुर्गे ॥ १३ ॥
तस्यात्मजश्चापि व(ब)भूव रम्यः सु(शु)भान्वितः सो(शो)[भ]न-
L. 7. नामधेयः ।
चित्रैश्चरित्रैः ककुभां मुखानि यश्चित्रयामास सु(शु)चिर्गु[णौ]घैः [22] ॥ १४ ॥
विद्यानिधानं तनयश्च तस्य विद्याधरैस्तुल्य(ल्य)तनुर्बभूव ।
यस्मिन्नृपो वीदननामधेयौ[23] विन्यस्य राज्यं सुमना[:×] सदैव ॥ १५ ॥[24]
वशं[25] पुराभ्येति जनस्य चि[त्तं] त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षितिपस्य [चा]त्र ।
इतीव वाशैरचिताभिधानो बभूव पुत्रो ऽस्य गुणैरुदारः ॥ १६ ॥[26]
कार्यक्षमन्तं वि-
8. गणज्य(य्य) राज्या(जा) दुर्गे जयाख्ये(ख्ये) विशिषाधिकारे ।
नियोज्य तस्मै व्यतरत्प्रसिद्धं ग्रामं सदा व[र्ब्भ]वरीति नाम्ना ॥ १७ ॥
तस्मिन्मनोरममयं सुरसद्म वापीं वास्तव्यवंशतिलकः सुजलां च रम्याम् ।
विज्ञाय देहमचिरं चिरतां सिसृक्षुः प्राचीकरत्तदनुया(पा)[27]धिकलेवरेण ॥ १८ ॥[28]
तत्रायं परिपन्थिपार्थिवचमूकक्षेषु दावानलो
द्वैराज्यं जन-
9. यत्त(न्त)मप्रतिहतं कृत्वा कृतान्तातिथिम् ।
भोजूकं युधि युद्धदुर्म्मदनिधिं वासे(शे)कनामा सुधी-
र्भूयो येन महीशवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मा कृतः ॥ [१९ ॥×][29]
स्फीतं राज्यमकंटकं गुणिगणाक्रान्तातिसर्व्वास्पदं
दानेनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लवद्विधाय विधिवत्सीमाः समस्ता अपि ।
तेनालम्भि महीधरे जयपुरे कैलासवासोपमे
वासो वासववास-
10. दर्प्पदलनो रम्यप्रतोलीकृते ॥ २० ॥
अस्यानुजः पुण्ययशा उदार आनन्दनामा प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ।
सदैव लोकं मदयन्तमाराद्यं सत्य(त्य)नामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥ २१ ॥[30]
भियामभूमिं विगणज्य(य्य) चैनं दुर्गाधिकारे नृपतिः प्रचक्रे ।
[31]आज्ञाकरान्प[ल्लि]निवासिनोयं चकार भिल्लान्सवरान्पुलिन्दान्[32] ॥ २२ ॥
तस्यात्मजोभवद-
11. [सौ ?] रुचिराभिधानो विद्यासु तासु सकलासु सु(शु)चिः कलासु ।
यो लीलयैव विहरन्समराङ्गणेषु तीव्रानरातिनिवहान्कुणितामनैषीत् ॥ २३ ॥[33]
दुर्गे जयाख्ये प्रबलासुरौघर्व्विध्वंसनीं[34] स्तोत्रपरंपराभिः [।×]
दुर्गां स्तुवन्नेष सदैव भक्त्या कृतांजलि[:×] पुण्यतमासु(सु)पास्ते ॥ २४ ॥[35]
गुणैरुदारः सुकृतैकचारः पा-

[22] The *akshara* in brackets may be read णौ or णौ.

[23] Read ०नामधेये. This correction may have been made already in the original.

[24] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[25] Originally वाशं, but altered to वशं.

[26] Metre of verses 16 and 17, Upajâti.

[27] The rubbing looks as if this *akshara* पा were engraved above the या.

[28] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[29] Metre of verses 19 and 20, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[30] Metre of verses 21 and 22, Upajâti.

[31] Originally अज्ञा०, but altered to आज्ञा०.

[32] Read भिल्लाञ्शव०.

[33] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[34] Read प्रबलासुरौघैर्व्विध्वंसिनीं. The rubbing looks as if the changes from रौघ to रौघै, and from स to सि, had been made already in the original.

[35] Metre of verses 24—27, Upajâti.

L. 12. पापहारः सुजनैकसारः ।
[शा][36]स्त्रास्त्रविद्यानिपुणः प्रवीणः कलासु रेजे स सदा यशस्वी ॥ २५ ॥
तस्यात्मजो गोपतिनामधेयो विद्यावदातो नृपतिप्रपूज्यः ।
श्रियां गिरां चाप्यविरोधवासो वंद्यः सतां साधुजनैकसेव्य[:×] ॥ २६ ॥
तस्यानुजन्मा महिपालनामा सौंदर्यसौ(शौ)र्यप्रवरो रराज ।
यं वीक्ष्य
13. लज्जावस(न)तो मनोभूः सदैव चित्तेषु तिरोव(ब)भूव ॥ २७ ॥
जयति तदनुजन्मा श्रीविलाशै(सै)कसौधः
सुकृतिजनवरिष्ठो वाङ्मि(ग्मि)नामग्रणीश्च ।
नृपतिसमितिदक्षः श्लाघनीयस्वभावः
सुभट इति च नाम्ना कीर्त्तनीयस्वरूपः ॥ २८ ॥[37]
परोपकारप्रतिव(ब)द्ध[कां]क्षः[38] प्रारब्धकार्याधिगतार्थसिद्धिः ।
श्रीभोजवर्म्म-
14. क्षितिपस्य सोभूत्कोसा(शा)धिकारादि(धि?)पतिः सदैव ॥ २९ ॥[3]
सर्व्वाभारधुरंधरोपि सुभटो विश्वासविद्यास्थितिः
श्रीमद्भोजमहीमहेन्द्रसचिवः प्रख्या(ख्या)तकीर्त्तिर्गुणैः ।
निर्म्मर्यादपरोपकारनिरतः सौजन्यमुद्रानिधि-
र्भाण्डागारपतिश्चिरं विजयते धर्म्मैकवु(बु)द्धिर्भृशम् ॥ ३० ॥[40]
लोकः शोक-
15. ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [दुःखत्रयो ?]मंदिरं
दोला[न्दो]लनचंचलं धनमिदं स्वल्पायि(यु)षो मानुषाः ।
धर्म्मः केवल एव देहविरहे देहान्त[रं] गच्छतो
गन्ता [त्या?][41]गविधेरसंभवतया देवालय[:] क्रीयताम् ॥ ३१ ॥[42]
ततो जाता महाप्राज्ञा महिपालसुतास्त्रयः [।×]
कीर्त्तिपालो द्व(बृ)हत्कीर्त्तिः कुमारो मारसन्निभः ॥ ३२ ॥[43]
16. . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration to Kedâra!

(*Verse* 1.) Adoration to Śiva, who manifests himself as Kedâra;[44] who is encircled by the serpent-king, made to move to and fro by the waves of the Ganges, (*and*)

[36] The *akshara* in brackets was originally श, but it looks as if it had been altered to शा.

[37] Metre, Mâlinî.

[38] Of the *akshara* in brackets only the sign of the *anusvâra* is indistinct.

[39] Metre, Upajâti.

[40] Metre of verses 30 and 31, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[41] I am very doubtful about the *akshara* in these brackets. In the rubbing it looks more like जा or त्रा or ज्या, than like त्या.

[42] Here the inscription would seem to have ended originally. The verse 32, which follows, appears to be less carefully engraved than the preceding. It is followed, in line 16, by another Anushṭubh verse, engraved in very small letters (as may be seen from Sir A. Cunningham's lithograph), which most probably gave the names of the two other sons of Mahipâla, but which, with the exception of one or two *aksharas*, is illegible in the rubbing.

[43] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[44] *Kedârarûpa-vidhṛita* I take in the sense of *vidhṛita-Kedârarûpa*, and compare compounds like *deha-baddha* which by Indian grammarians would be placed in the gaṇa *agnyâhit-âdi*.

is gracefully decorated with a portion of the moon; who humbled the pride of the god of love (*and*) is revered by the gods!

(*V.* 2.) There were thirty-six towns, purified by the fact that men of the writer caste [45] dwelt in them (*and*) more (*than other towns*) endowed with great comfort. Among them the most excellent, thought of as the abode of the gods, was Ṭakkârikâ, an object of envy.[46]

(3.) This town Vâstu himself took for his residence, that his race, an unique treasure in bestowing all kind of benefits, blessed with worthy people (*and*) a resort of the twice-born, might stay there to the end of the universe.

(4.) (*And*) in this (*town*) which by crowds (*of students*) was made to resound with the chants of the Vedas, there were born in the Vâstavya race those Kâyasthas whose fame has filled (*and rendered*) white like swans all the worlds, illumining the quarters.

(5 *and* 6.) From that race sprang a matchless (*personage*) to whom, even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly sped the fourteen sciences [47] and all the arts together, as long-eyed damsels hasten to a lover graced with beauty, openly betraying their grief at having (*so long*) been kept from him; (*a personage*) named Jâjûka, who, endowed with the title [48] of a Ṭhakkura, was, by king Gaṇḍa, the invincible in battle, appointed to superintend at all times all the affairs (*of the state*).

(7.) And having pleased the king, that unique ornament of the circle of princes, the primeval Gadâdhara, as it were, whose abode is imperishable, (*Jâjûka*)—who was to the Kâyastha race what the sun is to the multitude of lotus-groups—soon also obtained the village of Dugauḍa, as a grant.[49]

(8.) In his lineage was born, an ornament of the earth, Mâheśvara, thoroughly familiar with every branch of letters (*and*) endowed with beauty like the moon; preventing (*others*) from falling into the pit of darkness of delusion (*and himself*) going after good deeds.

(9.) Having served the illustrious prince Kîrtivarman, the crest-jewel of the princes in the Yellow-Mountain districts, he received the title of *Viśisha* of Kâlañjara, accompanied by (*the grant of*) Pipalâhikâ.

(10.) In that great family, beloved by good men, was born Gadâdhara, a favourite counsellor. That wise man was by king Paramardin, after due consideration, entrusted with the high office of chamberlain.

(11.) His younger brother, sharing his work, was Jauṇâdhara, always delighting in deeds of war (*and*) striving after final liberation. Following the path of heroes, both fought on the excellent mountain Kâlañjara with showers [50] of arrows (?).

(12.) And he also had another (*younger brother*) named Mâlâdhara, pre-eminent among heroes; who took delight in wars, always honoured by the gods with flowers of the tree of paradise.

(13.) In the course of time was born in that (*family*) the prudent Âlhû, whose ad-

[45] One of the meanings of *karaṇa* being *kâyastha-karman*, 'the occupation of a Kâyastha,' I take *karaṇa-karman* to be a Bahuvrîhi-compound, equivalent to the word *Kâyastha* which occurs below.

[46] The suffix *kalpa* in *spṛihaṇîyakalpâ* appears to have been added merely to fill up the verse.

[47] *i.e.*, the four Vedas, the six Vedâṅgas, the Mîmâṁsâ, Nyâya, Dharmaśâstra, and the Purâṇas.

[48] Literally, 'endowed with the nature of a Ṭhakkura.'

[49] *Tâmraka*, properly the copper-plate on which a deed is engraved, here clearly denotes the object granted by such a deed.

[50] Seeing no other way of explaining the above passage, I take the word *âkula* to be (wrongly) used as a substantive.

ministration of the street (*pratolî*) was pleasing; who, keeping down wickedness, full of energy, always dwelt happily in the fort.

(*V.* 14.) His charming son again was Śobhana, endowed with good fortune, who, resplendent with many excellent qualities, adorned the quarters with his wondrous exploits.

(15.) And his son, a store of knowledge (*and*) in appearance like the Vidyâdharas, was Vîdana. Having entrusted the realm to him, the king indeed enjoyed lasting comfort.

(16.) He had a son, distinguished for excellent qualities, who, one may say, was called Vâśe, because the minds of the people as well as that of king Trailokyavarman were about to prove submissive to him.

(17.) Esteeming him competent for the work, the king appointed him to the office of *Viśisha* over the fort, named Jaya; and gave him the well-known village of Varbhavarî, to be his for ever.

(18.) There that ornament of the Vâstavya race, being aware that life is brief and desirous of securing eternal life, made his transient body [51] build a beautiful temple and a charming tank, full of good water.

(19.) (*And*) there the wise Vâśeka, being to the armies of opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brush-wood, sent the irresistible Bhojûka, who, seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus [52] made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.

(20.) Having rendered the kingdom free from thorns and prosperous, so that every place was inhabited by crowds of virtuous people, and having made it resplendent with his generosity and properly secured all frontiers,[53] he took his abode, humbling the pride of Indra's home, on the mountain Jayapura, which, turned into a pleasant street (*pratolî*), was like Kailâsa as a place of residence.

(21.) His younger brother, of pure fame (*and*) famous the earth over, was the eminent Ânanda, whom men declare to have been rightly so named [54] because he always gladdened people, (*even*) from afar.

(22.) Esteeming him a man who knew no fear, the king made him governor of the fort; (*and as such*) he reduced to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śabaras, and Pulindas.

(23.) His son was that Ruchira, resplendent with all the sciences and arts, who, when he roamed about on the battle-fields, with ease crippled the fierce crowds of opponents.

(24.) In the fort of Jaya he reverently worshipped with folded hands the holy Durgâ, glorifying in strains of praise the fierce destructress of powerful demons.

(25.) Distinguished for excellent qualities, only engaged in good deeds, destroying wickedness (*and*) setting store only on good men, versed in sciences and in the knowledge of arms, (*and*) proficient in arts, he always shone, endowed with good fame.

[51] Literally, 'the body which has not the attribute of (eternity).'

[52] In the original the construction is altogether ungrammatical, but there can be no doubt about the meaning of the verse.

[53] Here, again, the first half of the verse does not admit of a proper construction, and I can do no more than give the general sense which I think to have been intended by the writer.

[54] *Ânanda* means 'joy.'

(*V.* 26.) His son was Gopati, purified by knowledge (*and*) deserving adoration from princes; a man in whom fortune and eloquence harmoniously dwelt together, praiseworthy (*and*) an unique object of veneration for good men.

(27.) His younger brother was Mahipâla, who shone, eminent for both beauty and bravery. When the god of love saw how he had taken possession of all hearts, he vanished, bowed down with shame.

(28.) Glorious is his younger brother, the in-every-way-famous Subhaṭa, who is the one mansion of the play of fortune, the most excellent of the virtuous, the leader of the eloquent, fit for the assemblies of princes, praiseworthy for his character.

(29.) Eagerly striving to benefit others (*and*) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, he became permanently chief superintendent of the treasury of the illustrious king Bhojavarman.

(30.) Long and greatly may Subhaṭa, the lord of the treasury, whose only thought is of what is right, prosper! He who, though at the head of all weighty affairs,[55] is both trustworthy and full of knowledge, who, as the counsellor of the illustrious ruler Bhoja, is widely famed for his excellent qualities, who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end (*and*) is a very store of benevolence!

(31.) The world is a home of the three kinds of pain, sorrow . . . . . unstable like the motion of a swing is our wealth, and short the life of man. His religious merit only goes with him, who, departing his life, enters another body; for that cannot leave him. (*Thus reflecting, Subhaṭa*) ordered a temple to be built (*here*).[56]

(32.) Then there were born three most intelligent sons of Mahipâla: Kîrtipâla, of great fame, a youth who resembled the god of love; . . . . . .

. . . . . .

XXXIX.—PATNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE YADAVA SIMGHANA AND HIS FEUDATORIES SOÏDEVA AND HEMADIDEVA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

This inscription was discovered by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî on a stone-tablet in the ruined temple of the goddess Bhavânî at Pâṭṇâ, a deserted village about ten miles south-west of Chalisgaon in Khândeś,[1] and edited by him in the *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. I, pages 414-418. It consists of 26 lines which cover a space of about 2′ 6″ broad by 1′ 6″ high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but at the top a small portion of the surface of the stone has peeled off, causing the nearly complete loss of about a dozen *aksharas* in the middle of the first line; and a few *aksharas* are illegible in the concluding lines. The average size of the letters is ¼″. The characters are Nâgarî of about the 13th century. Up to the beginning of line 22 the inscription is in Sanskṛit; the language of the remainder is a kind of old Marâṭhî, corresponding,

[55] The original has the word *âbhâra*, which I have not met with elsewhere.

[56] Here, again, a proper construction of the actual words of the verse appears impossible.

[1] See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 463; Burgess and Fleet, *Pâli, Sanskṛit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 284. Not to mention minor mistakes, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî read the name of one of the chiefs, mentioned in the inscription, persistently Sonhadeva, while it is really everywhere clearly Soïdeva. I re-edit the inscription from two good impressions supplied by the Editor.

according to Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, to the Khândeśî. Of the Sanskṛit portion, lines 1-20, excepting the introductory *oṁ namo Gaṇâdhipataye* and the words *atha bhṛity-ânvaya-varṇṇanaṁ* in line 7, are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose.

As regards the grammar and orthography of the Sanskṛit portion, there are few points that need here be noted. In *Lâṭoraska*, line 4, the *samâsânta* suffix *ka* has been wrongly added, for the word is a Tatpurusha compound; in *karaṭî-kaṁṭhîravo*, line 13, the final vowel of the first member of the compound has been lengthened simply for metrical purposes; and the word *vidhânita* is used in an unusual sense, in line 9. The conjunct *ddh* has been wrongly employed instead of the simple *dh* in *skaṁddha*, line 3, *siṁddhor*, line 11, and *saṁniddhau*, line 21; and *dh* has been doubled in a wrong way in *nibadhdha*, line 19. Besides, we find the conjunct *śchh* instead of *chchh* in *-hṛiśchhrî-*, line 5, and *yaśchhishyaiḥ*, line 16, and the vowel *ṛi* instead of *ri* in *kṛiyâ*, line 17.

The main object of the metrical portion of the inscription (lines 1-20) is, to record (in verses 23-24) that the chief astrologer of the Yâdava king Siṁghaṇa, Chaṅgadeva, a grandson of the well-known astronomer Bhâskarâchârya, founded a college for the study of the *Siddhântaśiromaṇi* and other works of his grandfather and relatives,—a college which was endowed with land and other sources of income by the brothers Soïdeva and Hemâḍideva (verse 25), two members of the Nikumbha family, who, as feudatories of the Yâdavas, ruled over 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages.' And by way of introduction, after invoking the divine blessing (in verse 1, which appropriately brings in the seven planets) and doing honour to Bhâskarâchârya (verses 2-4), the author furnishes a short account of the paramount lords of the country, the Yâdavas of Devagiri (verses 5-8), of their feudatories of the Nikumbha family (verses 9-16), and of Chaṅgadeva's own ancestors (verses 17-22).

Regarding the Yâdavas, we are told that there was a prince Bhillama who fought with the Gûrjaras, Lâṭas, and Karṇâṭas. He was succeeded by Jaitrapâla who defeated the Andhras (verse 6). Jaitrapâla's son was Siṁghaṇa or Siṁha, who defeated the kings of Mathurâ and Banâras, and a dependent of whom even defeated the valorous Hammîra, or Muhammadan invader (verse 7). All the three princes are well known to us from other sources,[2] and it is only necessary to state here that Siṁghaṇa ascended the throne in Śaka 1131 (A.D. 1209-10).

The names of the earlier members of the Nikumbha family, which was considered to belong to the solar race, are given in the other inscription brought from Pâṭṇâ by Dr. Burgess and published by Professor Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, page 39, as—

(1.) Kṛishṇarâja I.;
(2.) His son, Govana I.;
(3.) Govindarâja, son of Govana I.;
(4.) Govana II., son of Govinda; and
(5.) Kṛishṇarâja II., son of Govana II.

The first prince mentioned in this inscription is Kṛishṇarâja (verse 10), who is Kṛishṇarâja II. of Professor Bühler's account. His son was Indrarâja, and his son

[2] See *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. IV, p. 26; *Journal Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 6; *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. III, p. 85; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 72; Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 82.

again Govana (verses 11-12), who, to judge from Professor Bühler's inscription, began to rule shortly after Śaka 1075 (A.D. 1153-4). Govana III. was succeeded by his son, Soïdeva (verses 13-14), by whom, as will appear below, a donation was made to Chaṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (wrongly for Śaka 1129=A.D. 1207); and Soïdeva after his death was succeeded by his younger brother Hemâḍideva, who is described as a feudatory or general of Siṁghaṇadeva and ruler of 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages' (verses 15-16).

Chaṅgadeva, the founder of the college, belonged to the Śâṇḍilya *vaṁśa*, of which the inscription (in verses 17-24) enumerates the following members:—

(1.) The poet (*kavichakravartin*) Trivikrama.
(2.) His son Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, who from king Bhoja received the title of *Vidyâpati*.
(3.) His son Govinda, or Govindasarvajña.
(4.) His son Prabhâkara.
(5.) His son Manoratha.
(6.) His son, the poet (*kavîśvara*) Maheśvarâchârya.
(7.) His son Bhâskara (the astronomer).
(8.) His son Lakshmîdhara, who by king Jaitrapâla was appointed chief Paṇḍit.
(9.) His son Chaṅgadeva, chief astrologer of king Siṁghaṇa.

As regards these men, there can hardly be a doubt that the *kavichakravartin* Trivikrama, with whom the list opens, is the *mahâkavi* Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Damayantî-kathâ*, who, in the introduction of his work, describes himself as the son of Nemâditya (or Devâditya) and grandson of Śrîdhara, of the Śâṇḍilya *vaṁśa*. Since his son Bhâskarabhaṭṭa lived under Bhojarâja, whom, with Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, I take to be Bhoja of Dhârâ whom we know[3] to have ruled in A.D. 1021, Trivikrama must have flourished about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A. D. Bhâskara, the astronomer, was born in Śaka 1036=A.D. 1104-5; and the epoch-year of his *Karaṇa-kutûhala* is Śaka 1105=A. D. 1183-84. His father, Maheśvara, who is described as *jyotirvit-tilaka*, lived at Vijjalapura, and composed a work called *Vṛitta-śataka*.[4] Jaitrapâla, by whom Bhâskara's son, Lakshmîdhara, was made chief Paṇḍit, ruled from Śaka 1113 to Śaka 1131=A.D. 1191-1209.

The metrical part of this inscription is followed by a prose passage which records a grant made by Soïdeva in favour of Chaṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (or rather 1129), on a date which will be specified below. This grant must of course have been made some time before the inscription itself was composed; for we know from the preceding that the inscription was put up during the reign of the king Siṁghaṇa, who began to rule in Śaka 1131, and at a time when the feudatory Soïdeva was dead, and had been succeeded by his younger brother Hemâḍideva. Our inscription itself therefore is not dated, but it may have been composed in the first quarter of the 13th century, some time after A.D. 1209-10.

Soïdeva's grant, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, is dated in the Śaka year

[3] See Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 53. The date of the inscription is Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.

[4] See *Journal Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. I, pp. 410, 412; or *Siddhânta-Śiromaṇi*, xiii, 58; Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 327; Dr. Peterson's *Second Report*, p. 131.

1128, in the year Prabhava, on the full-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa, at the time of an eclipse of the moon. The date itself shows that there must be some mistake in it; for Prabhava corresponds to Śaka 1129 expired, not to Śaka 1128 expired. And, besides, if the grant had been really made in Śaka 1128 expired, the date would fall in A.D. 1206, and in that year there was no lunar eclipse at all. The year of the grant therefore was clearly Śaka 1129 expired, which was the Jovian year Prabhava; and calculating for that year, I find that Śrâvaṇa-śudi 15 corresponds to the 9th August, A. D. 1207, when there *was* a lunar eclipse, at 12 hours 26 minutes Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 hours 29 minutes after mean sunrise. The eclipse, a partial one, lasted 2 hours 40 minutes and would, therefore, have been just visible in Khândeś.

TEXT.[5]

L. 1. श्रीं[6] न[मो] गणाधिपतये ॥
सिद्धं[7] दि[वा]करसुधाकरभूमिपु[त्र]श्वेतांशुपुत्रगुरुशुक्रश[नि] ⌣ — ⌣ ।
— — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — स्य [भवो?]द्भ[वान्ध?]संरक्षणानि गगनेचरचारवो वः ॥ [8]—[1.]
उद्भ-
2. ट[बु]द्धिर्भाट्टे सांख्येसंख्यः स्वतं[त्र]धीस्तंत्रे ।
वेदेनव[द्य]विद्योनल्पः शिल्पादिषु कलासु ॥ [9]—[2.]
स्वच्छंदो यश्छंदसि शास्त्रे वैशेषिके विशेषज्ञः ॥(।)
यः श्रीप्रभाकरगुरुः प्राभाकरद-
3. र्शने कविः काव्ये ॥[10]—[3.]
[ब]हुगुणगणितप्रभृतिस्कंद्ध(ध)वितये त्रिनेत्रसमः ।
विबुधाभिवंदितपदो जयति श्रीभास्कराचार्यः ॥ ❀ ॥ [11]—[4.]
श्रीमद्यदुवंशाय स्वस्त्यस्तु समस्तवस्तुसद्धि-
4. ताय ॥(।)
विश्वं यत्र त्रातुं जातो विष्णुः स्वयं त्रस्तं ॥ [12]—[5.]
गर्ज्जद्गूर्ज्जरकुंजरोत्कटघटासंघट्टकंठीरवो-
लाटोरस्ककपाटपाटनपटुः[13] कर्णाटहृत्वंटकः ।
श्रीमान्भिल्लमभूपतिः सम-
5. भवद्भूपालचूडामणि-[14]
स्तत्रार्त्ताध्रपुरंध्रिकान्तसुखहृच्छ्री(च्छी)जैत्रपालोभवत् ॥[15]—[6.]
लक्ष्मीकांतलवः प्रतारि[त×]भवः श्रीजैत्रपालोद्भवः
संग्रामांगण[सं]चितातिविभवः
6. शास्ता भुवः सिंघणः ।
पृथ्वीशो मथुराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पाति[तो]

[5] From impressions supplied by the Editor.
[6] Expressed by a symbol.
[7] Originally सिद्धि or सिद्धिं, but clearly altered to सिद्धं in the original.
[8] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[9] Metre, Âryâ.
[10] Metre, Gîti.
[11] Metre, Upagîti.
[12] Metre, Âryâ.
[13] In लाटोरस्क the suffix क has been improperly added.
[14] This word was originally followed by the sign of *visarga*.
[15] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यबटुना हं[मी]रवीरो जितः ॥ —[7.]
अवततार पुरा पुरुषोत्तमो यदुकुले ज-
L. 7. गतोद्धितहेतवे ॥(।)
जयति सीयमिमां सकलामिलामवति मा पतिसिंहमहीपतिः ॥[16]—[8.]
अथ भृत्यान्वयवर्णनं ॥
श्रीमद्भास्करवंशाय भव्यं भूयात्स भूपतिः ॥(।)
निकुंभो
8. यत्र संभूतो रा[मो] यस्यान्वयेभवत् ॥ [17]—[9.]
तत्रासीन्नृपतिर्ज्जितक्षितिपतिर्ध्यातैकलक्ष्मीपति-
र्देवब्राह्मणवंदने त[त]मतिः श्रीकृष्णराजाह्वयः ॥(।)
शौ[र्यौ]दार्यविवेकवि-
9. क्रमगुणैस्तुल्यो न येनापरः
प्राप्तं पांडवपुंगवार्ज्जितपदं तद्धर्म्मराजेति यत् ॥ [18]—[10.]
आसांगप्रभवस्ततस्ततमतिः प्राप्तप्रतापोन्नति-
र्वीरो वैरिवधूविधूनितशिरा यः श्रीन्द्रा-
10. जाह्वयः ॥(।)
तस्यासीत्तनयः सतां सविनयः सामंतसीमंतिनी-
वैधव्यव्रतसद्गुरुर्गुरुगुणः सत्पुण्यपण्यापणः ॥ —[11.]
चतुरस्तुरगारूढो रेवन्त इव गोवनः ॥(।)
सौंदर्य्यदर्प्पकंद-
11. र्प्पो यं दृष्ट्वानंगतां गतः ॥ [19]—[12.]
श्रीगोवनासं[20][स्तुत ?] [रत्न]सिंहो(धो)रुद्भूतमूर्त्तिस्तत्पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥(।)
जितारिचक्रः क्षितिपालशक्रः श्रीसोढदेवः स्तुतवासुदेवः ॥ [21]—[13.]
शरणागतवज्रपंजरः
12. परनारीषु सदा सहोदरः ॥(।)
व्रतसत्यपथे युधिष्ठिरः सततं वैरिवधूभयज्वरः ॥ [22]—[14.]
स षोडश[श]तग्रामदेशं दुर्ग्गपुरान्वितं ॥(।)
सोढदेवे दिवं याते शास्ति तस्यानुसंभवः ॥ [23]—[15.]
त्यागी
13. सूयश्रुतोपमोर्ज्जुनसमः शौर्ये निकुंभान्वये
विख्यातः क्षितिपालभालतिलकः श्रीगोवनस्यात्मजः ॥(।)
श्रीमत्सिंघणदेववैरिकरटीकंठीरवो[24] यत्करो
नंद्याबंदसुनं-

[16] Metre, Drutavilambita.
[17] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.
[19] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[20] I am somewhat doubtful about the sign of *anusvâra*.
[21] Metre, Upajâti.
[22] Metre, Vaitâlîya.
[23] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[24] By the rules of grammar we should expect करटिकंठीरवो; but the final vowel of the first member of the compound has been lengthened for the sake of the metre.

L. 14. दने [तत]मतिर्हेमाडिदेवश्चिरं ॥ ॥ [25]—[16.]
शांडिल्यवंशे कविचक्रवर्त्ती त्रिविक्रमोभूत्तनयोस्य जातः ॥(।)
यो भोजराजेन कृताभिधानो विद्यापतिर्भास्करभट्टना-
15. मा ॥ [26]—[17.]
तस्माद्गोविंदसर्वज्ञो जातो गोविंदसंनिभः ॥(।)
प्रभाकरः सुतस्तस्मात्प्रभाकर इवापरः ॥ [27]—[18.]
तस्मान्मनोरथो जातः सतां पूर्णमनोरथः ॥(।)
श्रीमन्महेश्वराचार्य-
16. स्ततोजनि कवीश्वरः ॥ —[19.]
तत्सूनुः कविवृंदवंदितपदः सद्वेदविद्यालता-
कंदः कंसरिपुप्रसादितपदः सर्वज्ञविद्यासदः ।
यच्छि(च्छि)ष्यैः सह कोपि नो विवदितुं
17. दक्षो विवादी क्वचि-
च्छ्रीमान्भास्करकोविदः समभवत्सत्कीर्त्तिपुण्यान्वितः ॥ [28]—[20.]
लक्ष्मीधराख्योखिलसूरिमुख्यो वेदार्थवित्तार्किकचक्रवर्त्ती ॥(।)
क्रतुक्र(क्रि)याकांडविचार-
18. सारविशारदो भास्करनंदनोभूत् ॥ [29]—[21.]
सर्वशास्त्रार्थदक्षोयमिति मत्वा पुरादतः ॥(।)
जैत्रपालेन यो नीतः कृतस्य विबुधाग्रणीः ॥ [30]—[22.]
तस्मात्सुतः सिंघणचक्रवर्त्ति-
19. दैवज्ञवर्योजनि चंगदेवः ॥(।)
श्रीभास्कराचार्यनिबध्व(द्ध)शास्त्रविस्तारहेतोः कुरुते मठं यः ॥ [31]—[23.]
भास्कररचितग्रंथाः सिद्धांतशिरोमणिप्रमुखाः ॥(।)
तद्वंश्यकृताश्चान्ये व्या-
20. ख्येया मन्मठे नियमात् ॥ [32]—[24.]
श्रीसोइदेवेन मठाय दत्तं हेमाडिना किंचि(चि)दिहापरैश्च ।
भूम्यादि सर्वं प्रतिपालनीयं भविष्यभूपैर्बहुपुण्यवृद्धैः ॥ ॥ ॥ [33]—[25.]
21. स्वस्ति श्रीशके ११२८ प्रभवसंवत्सरे श्रावणमासे पौर्णमास्यां चंद्रग्रहणसमये श्रीसोइदेवेन
सर्वजनसंनिधौ(धौ) हस्तोदकपूर्व्वकं निजगुरुरचितमठायायस्थानं
22. दत्तं ॥ तद्यथा ॥[34] इयां पाटणीं जें केणें उघटे तेहाचा असि आउंजो राउला होंता ग्राहका-
पासीं तो मठा दीन्हला । ब्राह्मणां जें विक[ति] यापासीं ब्रह्मोत्तर तें ब्राह्मणीं दीन्हलें ॥ ग्राह-
23. कापासीं दामाचा वीसोवा आसूपाठी नग[रे] दीन्हला ॥ तलदा इया बैला सिद्ध[वें] ॥
बाहोरिला आसूपाठी गिधवें ग्राहकापासीं ॥ पांच पोफली ग्राहकापासीं ॥ पहि-

[25] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[26] Metre, Upajâti.
[27] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.
[28] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[29] Metre, Upajâti.
[30] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[31] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[32] Metre, Upagîti.
[33] Metre, Upajâti.
[34] The following passage has been carefully copied from the impressions, and all *aksharas*, the reading of which appeared to be doubtful, have been enclosed in brackets. As I do not understand the original, I may have made mistakes in dividing the words of the text.

L. 24. ले आघाणे आदाणाची,लोटि मठा दीन्हली ॥ जेती घाणे वांहति तेतीयां प्रति पली पली तेला ॥ एथ [जें] मविजे तें मढीचेन मापें मवावें मापाउ मढा अर्द्ध ॥ अर्द्ध

25. मापहारी । [रू]पाचें सूंक । तथा भूमिः ॥ चतुराघाटविशुद्ध [ओडु?]ग्राम ॥ अ—बाले— — कामतामध्यें च — वं[टा] ॥ एकलं — [टा] ॥ पंडितां [चा?]कामतु ॥ [चो]ते ग्रा-

26. मीचा [ज?]रा ॥ धामो[जी]ची[अ]सोढि[आ] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration to the ruler[35] of the Gaṇas!

(*Verse* 1.) Accomplished[36] . . . . . may, charming like the planets, ... the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, ... ever preserve you from the darkness arising from this mundane existence!

(2-4.) Triumphant is the illustrious Bhâskarâchârya whose feet[37] are revered by the wise,[38]—(*he who was*) eminently learned in Bhaṭṭa's[39] doctrine, unique in the Sâṁkhya, an independent thinker in the Tantra, possessed of unblemished knowledge of the Veda, (*and*) great in mechanics and other arts; who laid down the law in metrics, was deeply versed in the Vaiśeshika system, might have instructed the illustrious Prabhâkara in his own doctrine, was in poetics (*himself*) a poet, (*and*) like unto the three-eyed (*god Śiva*) in the three branches (*of the Jyotisha*), the multifarious Gaṇita and the rest.

(5.) May blessings rest on the illustrious race of Yadu with everything pertaining to it, (*a race*) in which Vishṇu himself was born, to protect the trembling universe!

(6.) (*In this race*) was born the illustrious prince Bhillama, a lion to the furious combined arrays of the roaring Gûrjara elephants, skilful in cleaving the broad breasts of the Lâṭas, (*and*) a thorn in the hearts of the Karṇâṭas. (*And*) here there was the crest-jewel of princes, the illustrious Jaitrapâla, who put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the distressed ladies of Andhra.

(7.) From the illustrious Jaitrapâla sprang, (*in truth*) a part of the beloved of Lakshmî, Siṁghaṇa, who escaped (*the ills of*) this mundane existence (?); a ruler of the earth who acquired great might on the battle-fields, who in the van of the fight struck down the prince ruling over Mathurâ (*and*) the lord of Kâśi, (*and*) by whose young dependent even that valorous Hammîra was defeated.

(8.) In former days Purushottama became incarnate for the good of the world in Yadu's family. He it is who here is conquering the whole earth (*and*) who protects me,—the ruler of the earth, the lord Siṁha.

Now for the description of the family of the dependents:—

(9.) May fortune attend the illustrious solar race in which the prince Nikumbha born, whose descendant was Râma!

(10.) In this (*race*) was the illustrious prince, named Kṛishṇarâja, who defeated

[35] *I.e.* either Śiva or Gaṇeśa.

[36] The verse being incomplete, it is impossible to say whether the word *siddhaṁ* with which it opens should be construed with what follows or be taken separately. But it is clear that *siddhaṁ* is used at the beginning to make the inscription commence with a word of auspicious import.

[37] Or, possibly, 'words.'

[38] Or, 'the gods.'

[39] *I.e.* Kumârilabhaṭṭa's.

the rulers of the earth, meditated solely on the lord of Lakshmî, (*and*) bent his thoughts on revering gods and Brâhmaṇs. Since in the qualities of bravery, generosity, discrimination and prowess none else was his equal, he obtained that title which had been gained by the foremost of the Pâṇḍavas,—(*the title of*) Dharmarâja.[40]

(*Vv.* 11 *and* 12.) From him sprang a son, the illustrious Indrarâja, of far-reaching intelligence (*and*) endowed with eminent prowess; a hero, whose head was fanned[41] by the wives of his enemies. And he had a son, gracious to the good, expert in teaching the wives of (*hostile*) feudatories the vow of widowhood, endowed with sterling qualities (*and*) a store-house of religious merit,—Govana, skilful as a rider of horses like Revanta, at whose sight the god of love, proud as he was of his beauty, left the body.[42]

(13.) From the illustrious Govana, an ocean, as it were, containing countless jewels, sprang, a very Indra among the rulers of the earth, the illustrious Soïdeva, who spread the fame of his religious merit, conquered the hosts of enemies, (*and*) adored Vâsudeva;

(14.) A cage of adamant to (*shelter*) those who sought his protection, always a brother to others' wives, in keeping the vow of truth a very Yudhishṭhira, (*and*) ever a fever of terror to the enemies' wives.

(15 *and* 16.) Since Soïdeva has gone to heaven, his younger brother rules here 'the country of the sixteen-hundred villages' with its forts and towns. May he, Hemâḍideva, the son of the illustrious Govana, whose thoughts are fixed on Nanda's son,[43] long live happily,—he who in liberality resembles the son[44] of the Sun, (*and*) who in bravery is like Arjuna; that famous frontal ornament of the princes in Nikumbha's family, whose hand is a lion to the elephants of the enemies of the illustrious Siṁghaṇadeva![45]—

(17.) In the Śâṇḍilya race was the king of poets Trivikrama. To him was born a son, named Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, on whom king Bhoja conferred the title of Vidyâpati.

(18.) From him was born Govinda, the omniscient, like unto Govinda; (*and*) he had a son, a second Sun, as it were, Prabhâkara.

(19.) From him was born Manoratha, who fulfilled the desires of the good; (*and*) from him, the illustrious Maheśvarâchârya, the chief of poets.

(20.) His son was the illustrious Bhâskara, the learned, endowed with good fame and religious merit, the root (*as it were*) of the creeper—true knowledge of the Veda, (*and*) an omniscient seat of learning; whose feet were revered by crowds of poets, while his words were rendered perspicuous by the enemy[46] of Kaṁsa, (*and*) with whose disciples no disputant anywhere was able to compete.

(21.) Bhâskara's son was Lakshmîdhara, the chief of all sages, who knew the meaning of the Veda, (*and*) who was the king of logicians (*and*) conversant with the essence of discussions on the subject of sacrificial rites.

(22.) Judging him to be well acquainted with the contents of all the Śâstras, Jaitrapâla took him away from this town and made him chief of the learned.

[40] *I.e.* 'king of justice,' an epithet of Yudhishṭhira.

[41] This is not the ordinary meaning of *vidhûnîta*, but I see no other way of translating the word.

[42] The original has a play on the word *Anaṅga*, 'the bodiless one,' which is one of the names of the god of love.

[43] *I.e.* Vishṇu.

[44] *I.e.* Karṇa.

[45] Or, 'whose hand is to the enemies of the illustrious Siṁghaṇadeva what the lion is to elephants.'

[46] *I.e.* Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa.

(*Vv.* 23 *and* 24.) To him was born a son, Chaṅgadeva, (*who became*) chief astrologer of king Siṁghaṇa; who, to spread the doctrines promulgated by the illustrious Bhâskarâchârya, has founded[47] a college, (*enjoining*) that in (*this*) his college the *Siddhântaśiromaṇi* and other works composed by Bhâskara, as well as other works by members of his family, shall be necessarily expounded.

(25.) The land and whatever else has been given here to the college by the illustrious Soïdeva, by Hemâḍi and by others, should be protected by future rulers for the great increase of (*their*) religious merit!

May it be well! In Śâka 1128, in the year Prabhava, on the full-moon day in the month Śrâvaṇa, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, the illustrious Soïdeva, in the presence of all the people, granted to the college founded by his preceptor, (*confirming the gift*) by (*pouring out*) water from his hand, sources of income, as follows:—[48]

. . . . . .

XL.—BEGUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE GANGA KING EREYAPPARASA.

By J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Maisûr territory. A print from his negative has been published in my *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 247. And Mr. Rice has given a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209f., with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id.* Frontispiece). His reading, however, contains many inaccuracies; and his translation is but little in accordance with the real meaning of the original. I edit the inscription partly from the photograph, and partly from a very good inked estampage, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. The photograph is for the most part very clear and legible; but it fails to give the proper reading in line 1, and at the commencement of line 2. The estampage has made the text perfectly clear and intelligible here; and has also cleared up one or two minor points that were rather doubtful in the photograph.

Bêgûr is a village about six miles south by east from Bangalore (properly Beṅgalûr), the chief town of the Bangalore District in Maisûr. It is shewn in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Baigoor,' in Lat. 12° 53′, Long. 77° 41′. It is mentioned in lines 5 and 6 of this record by the older name of Bempûr or Bempûru. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6′ 6″ broad by 6′ 8″ high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering a space of about 6′ 6″ broad by 1′ 5″ high, which run right across the upper part of the stone. And each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end; this is a peculiarity which I have not as yet met with in any other inscription. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side; the same number on

[47] The original has the present tense 'he founds.'

[48] The following passage, which is not Sanskrit, I do not understand. Its general sense appears to be, that Soïdeva allowed the college to levy certain taxes from tradesmen and manufacturers, and also assigned to it the income from one or more villages, the name or names of which may be contained in the concluding lines of the inscription.

the proper left side; and the name of a village (line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is very well preserved; and it is legible throughout without the slightest doubt. — The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side are led by a man on horseback, sword in hand, whose rank is indicated by his head-dress and by some umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one. Behind him, there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn; and beyond the latter there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, whose rank again is indicated by his head-dress. He is attended by an archer in the howdah, and by a separate follower on horseback. Behind the elephant there seem to be two supernatural beings; one of them being possibly Bhairavā, and the other Kâlî, as proposed by Mr. Rice. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above this scene there is represented the king, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool carved to represent that device, and evidently waiting for news from the field of battle.[1] He is attended by two female *chaurî*-bearers. There is another woman in front of him; and beyond her, a soldier, holding across his right knee either a quiver, or perhaps a large tube for carrying despatches. Behind the king and his *chaurî*-bearers there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on the king's uplifted left hand. And behind her again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. —The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, belonging approximately to the ninth century A.D. The lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, is formed very clearly in some words, *e.g.* in *mâḍi* and *gaṅgavâḍi*, line 3; in other cases, however, the distinction is not made. The mark attached to the up-stroke of the *l* in *kûḍal*, line 15, which does not appear in the other cases in which this letter is used, seems to be a form of the Kanarese *virâma*, and to give the final *l*; the full form of the word is *kûḍala* or *kûḍalu*. The size of the letters varies from about 1¼″ to 2¼″. The engraving is bold, deep and good. — The language is Old-Kanarese, with the usual mixture of Sanskṛit words in lines 1 to 3. The whole record is in prose. And it presents no particular difficulties, except in the quaintness of the construction. The whole passage from *bîra-mahêndranoḷ* to *kalṇâḍ=ittan* is in reality one unbroken sentence, the component parts of which are connected by verbs in the subjunctive mood. Thus, "when the army attacked" is literally "if the army rises to;" "when there was no room left for the battle-horn" is literally "if the place for the battle-horn perishes;" and "he was pierced and died" is literally "if, having been pierced, he dies." In order to present a readable translation, I have had to follow a more direct construction. — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in °*âḷaṁkrity*°, line 1-2, though the subscript *ṛi* itself occurs a little further on, in *śvayaṁ-vṛita*; (2) the use of *dhdh* for *ddh* in *badhdhaṁ*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *bîra*, line 3; (4) the use of *ś* for *s* in *śvayaṁvṛita*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in all the Sanskṛit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakshmî*, line 2, and except in

[1] Mr. Rice interpreted this part of the sculptures rather differently. But the stone is distinctly a charter (*śâsana*), not a monumental stone (*vîragal*); and consequently this part of it does not represent celestial nymphs waiting for the slain heroes. Also, the central seated figure is plainly a man; not the queen of the nymphs.

maṅgala, line 6; in line 19 we have *maṅgaḷa*, with the Drâviḍian *ḷ*; in line 6, as in many other cases, the word is part of a village-name, and I am not quite sure whether, as such, it is really the Sanskṛit word, or whether it is of Drâviḍian origin.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a Gaṅga king named Eṟeyapparasa or Eṟeyappa, who was reigning as paramount sovereign over the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand district. He was at war with a certain Vîra-Mahêndra. One of his armies, called the army of Nâgattara, headed by its chieftain, came in collision with the army of Ayyapadêva, who was plainly one of the commanders of Vîra-Mahêndra. In the fight that ensued, Ayyapadêva was killed, (and his troops routed). And in recognition of this, Eṟeyapparasa conferred upon his slayer, Iruga, a fillet or badge of honour called the *Nâgattara-vaṭṭa*, and granted to him the twelve villages known as the Bempûr Twelve, which constituted the Kalnâḍ district.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription, the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand is well known from other records. It constituted specially the dominions of the Gaṅgas of Western India, and it embraced chiefly the present territory of Maisûr. Bempûr or Bempûru is plainly the original name of the modern Bêgûr; though, why the *mp* should have changed into *g*, I cannot at present explain. Iggalûru still exists under the same name; it is the 'Igloor' of the map, in the Ânekal Tâlukâ of the Bangalore District, about eight miles south-east of Bêgûr. One or other of the two villages of the names of which Nallûru is a component, may perhaps be identified with the 'Nelloor-putnam' of the map, in the Dêvanhaḷḷi or Dêvaṇḍahaḷḷi Tâlukâ, twenty-four miles in a north-easterly direction from Bêgûr; it is described as a ruined city of some antiquity (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. II, pp. 56, 74); and about nine miles south-east of it, the map shews a 'Chicka Nelloor,' which may perhaps be identified with the other of the two villages. And Pûvina-Pullaṁmaṅgala is possibly represented by the 'Woolmangle' of the map, in the Mâlûr Tâlukâ of the Kôlâr district, about twenty miles to the east by north from Bêgûr. For the other places, I cannot find any representatives in the map. But a reminiscence of the name of the Kalnâḍ district, is perhaps preserved in the name of the modern Ânekal Tâlukâ.

The inscription is not dated. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred to about the ninth century A.D.; but this, of course, is only an approximation, liable to correction at any time when we may be in a position to identify with certainty the persons who are mentioned. As regards Eṟeyapparasa or Eṟeyappa, the only person whose name at all resembles his, is the Eṟegaṅga of one of the spurious Western Gaṅga grants (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 229 ff). *Eṟeyappa* is, of course, simply *eṟe*, with *appa*, 'a father,' as an honorific suffix; and *arasa* means 'a king.' But there are no particular reasons for proposing to identify Eṟeyappa with Eṟegaṅga. Vîra-Mahêndra has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xlv., lvii., lxiii.) with a Pallava king Vîra-Noḷamba, of whom there is an inscription at Gôribidnûr in Maisûr, which speaks of him as the 'protector of Ayyapadêva's daughter.' Vîra-Mahêndra may possibly be a Pallava king. But the name is not known as yet from any other record. And it is impossible to identify him, with any certainty, with any particular king of the Pallava dynasty, and especially with any particular Vîra-Noḷamba.[2] Also, to understand the

[2] Vîra-Noḷamba means 'the brave Noḷamba;' whereas Vîra-Mahêndra most probably means, not 'the brave Mahêndra,' but 'a very Mahêndra (Indra) among brave men.'

reference to Ayyapadêva's daughter in the Gôribidnûr inscription, we require the full text of that record. And the sculptures on the Bêgûr stone do not bear out Mr. Rice's assumptions. He suggested that the woman standing under the flag-staff is Ayyapadêva's daughter, bound to it as a captive; and that, being taken prisoner in the fight in which Ayyapadêva was killed, she became the prize of the victorious Pallava. But, as I have already said (see note 1, above), the stone is distinctly a charter, not a monumental slab; so that the sculptures in the upper row do not refer to Ayyapadêva at all. And there are no indications of a rope on the staff of the standard; while, that which is on the woman's right wrist appears distinctly to be a set of bangles, as on both wrists of the other women, and not the coils of a rope. The mention of the Nâgattara and his army, suggests the idea of a reference to some Nâga tribe. I do not find, however, any indications of Nâgas among the figures represented in the sculptures.

In consequence of Mr. Rice's rendering of this inscription, it appeared to contain some other historical details, which are now found to be quite illusory. Thus, his translation speaks of "the illustrious Ereyapparasa, brilliant as lightning, descending among the stars in the clear firmament of the world-renowned Gaṅga race, protector of the mighty kings of Vaḷala and Mêkhala, the chosen lord and possessor of the fortune of the auspicious Taila's dominion." From this, Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xliv., xlv.) inferred that Ereyapparasa was an usurper of the Gaṅga sovereignty; and he placed him in the period A.D. 777 to 857, between Râja-Malladêva and Gaṇḍadêva. But, on the contrary, Ereyapparasa is most distinctly described as belonging himself to the Gaṅga family. The "mighty kings of Vaḷala and Mêkhala" owe their existence to nothing but a pure mistake, and need no further comment. The supposed Taila, however, is a matter of more importance, especially in connection with the name of Ayyapadêva, which really does occur in this record. During the period to which this inscription belongs, there was a long break in the supremacy of the Western Chalukya kings. Their records, however, pretending to give an uninterrupted succession, mention a certain Taila I., and his great-grandson Ayyaṇa I., who have to be placed in this period. And, on seemingly good grounds, Mr. Rice found a reference to both of these persons in the present record; and an apparent corroboration of his general results, in the supposed fact that Prôlirâja, the father of the Kâkatya king Rudradêva, took away a kingdom from a certain Tailapa, — assumed to be Taila I., — and gave it to a "king Erha," whom Mr. Rice took to be the present king Ereyapparasa. Prôlirâja, however, belongs to a much later time, *viz.* to the period just before A.D. 1162; and the Tailapa who is mentioned in connection with him, is the Western Châlukya king Taila or Tailapa III. (A.D. 1150 to about 1162). Moreover, the kingdom that was disposed of by him was taken from a certain Gôvindarâja, and was given to a king whose name was in reality Udaya, not "Erha" (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 17). These items of contemporaneous history thus disappear altogether. And, as a matter of fact, the name of Taila does not occur in the present record at all. It was deduced from words which really are °*âlaṁkṛity-aiḷâdhipatya*. In the photograph, the reading *taiḷ-âdhipatya* might be justified, as the words preceding it are there not at all clear; and especially because there really is a mention of an Ayyapadêva further on. But the estampage has placed the true reading of the passage beyond any possibility of doubt. That the Ayyapadêva

of this record may be the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., still remains possible; but it cannot be taken as at all a certainty.

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôm[4] Svasti Samasta-bhuvaṇa-vinû(nu)ta[5]-Gaṅgakuḷa-gagana-nirmmaḷa-târâpati jaḷadhi-jaḷa-vipuḷa-vaḷaya-mêkhaḷ[â]-kaḷâp-âḷaṁ-

2 kri(kṛi)ty-aiḷâdhipatya-lakshmî-śva(sva)yaṁvṛita-patî(ti) tâdvâdy[6]-agaṇita-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhûshaṇa-vibhûshita-vibhûti śrîmad-Eṛeyapp-arasaṁ

3 pagevar-ellaman=ni[ḥ*]kshatram-mâḍi Gaṅgavâḍi-tombhatt[â*]ṛu-sâsiraṃuman=êka-chhatra[7]-chchhâyeyoḷ=âḷuttam-iḷdu [।*] Bî(vî)ra-Ma-

4 hêndranoḷ=kâdal=endu Ayyapadêvaṅge sâmanta-sahitaṁ Nâgattaranaṁ[8] daṇḍuv=êḷdoḍe tumbe pâdiyoḷ=kâdi kâḷegam=imb=a-

5 ḷidoḍe âneyoḷ=ânt=iṛidu sattoḍ=adaṁ kêḷd=Eṛeyapaṁ[9] mechchi Irugaṅge Nâgattara-vaṭṭaṁ-gaṭṭi Beṁpû[r*]-ppanneraḍu-

6 maṁ śâsana-badhdha(ddha)ṁ Kalnâḍ=ittan=Av=âvuv=endoḍe ॥ Beṁpûrû Tovagûrû Pûvina-Pullaṁmaṅgala Kûtanidu-Nallûru

7 Nallûru-Koma-

8 raṅgunta ॥[10] I-

9 ggalûru[11] ॥ Du-

10 gmonelmalli

11 Gaḷaṁjavâ-

12 gilû ॥

13 Sâṛaṁvu ॥

14 Eḷkuppe Paravûru

15 Kûḍal । initumaṁ

16 pola-mêre-sahita-

17 m=ittan=Eṛeyapaṁ

18 śavucharan-Nâgara-

19 ṅge [॥*] Maṅgaḷa-mahâ-śrî [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! While the glorious Eṛeyapparasa, — whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of a countless number of meritorious qualities, commencing with such (*epithets*) as 'he who is a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gaṅgas, praised throughout the whole world,' (*and*) 'he who is the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the (*whole*) earth, who has for an ornament round (*her*) waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,' — having deprived all (*his*) enemies of power, was ruling the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand under the shadow of a single umbrella:[12]—

(Line 3) — Saying "(*We have*) to fight against Vîra-Mahêndra," the army of the Nâgattara, together with the chieftain (or chieftains), attacked[13] Ayyapadêva. And

[3] From the inked estampage and the photograph combined.

[4] Represented by a plain symbol.

[5] The syllable *nû* is quite spoilt in the photograph, where it appears to be *du*. We have a similar instance of the lengthening of the *u* of *nuta*, in *praṇûteyuṁ*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 273, line 23; see also *id.* line 11 and note 11.

[6] Read *tâvad-âdy°*.

[7] Read *chchhattra*.

[8] The *anusvâra* here is quite distinct; but we must strike it out, and read the genitive *nâgattarana*.

[9] Properly there should be the double *pp* in the fourth syllable of this name. It occurs again, however, with the single *p*, in line 17; and I have therefore left it without correction.

[10] The punctuation in this part of the record is rather capricious.

[11] The *û* of the syllable *lû* has failed to appear in the photograph at all. But it is quite distinct in the estampage.

[12] *i.e.* 'was reigning as paramount sovereign.'

[13] *lit.* 'on its rising to, *i.e.* against.'

when it was overwhelming (*him*),[14] having fought on foot,[15] when there was no room left for (*his*) battle-horn, he mounted an elephant, and there was pierced and died.

(*L.* 5) — Having heard that, Ereyapa[16] was pleased; and, having bound on Iruga the fillet called *Nâgattara-vaṭṭa*,[17] he gave him the Kalnâḍ district, secured by (*this*) charter, (*consisting of*) the Bempûr Twelve (*villages*).[18]

(*L.* 6) — They are as follows:—Bempûru and Tovagûru, Pûvina-Pullaṁmaṅgala, Kûtanidu-Nallûru, Nallûru-Komaraṅgunta, Iggalûru, Dugmonelmalli and Galañjavâgilu, Sâraṁvu, Elkuppe, Paravûru, (*and*) Kûḍal.

(*L.* 15)—This much, with (*a specification of*) the boundaries of the fields, gave Ereyapa to (*his*) follower, the Nâgara.[19] (*May there be*) felicity and great good fortune!

XLI.—A STONE INSCRIPTION FROM RANOD (NAROD).

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

In my account of the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi, *ante*, pages 253 and 267, I had occasion to mention an inscription at Ranod, published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XVI, pages 1080-88, which, I said, might, when properly edited, serve to elucidate certain passages of the Bilhari inscription, and which, I hoped, would also otherwise prove of historical value. I now have to state that, in the midst of the last hot season, Dr. Führer proceeded to Ranod, and, under considerable difficulties, took two impressions of the inscription thus referred to, which have rendered the preparation of a trustworthy text of it an easy task. Unfortunately, the importance of the inscription has not turned out to be at all proportionate to the trouble which Dr. Führer has taken about it; but my thanks to him are none the less sincere.

Ranod, or, as it is more commonly called in the neighbourhood, Narod (Narvad), is described as an old, decayed town of some size, in the state of Gwâlior, about half way between Jhânsî and Guna, and 45 miles due south of Narwar, *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 51, S.E., Long. 77° 56′ E., Lat. 25° 5′ N. The most remarkable building of the place is reported to be an old Hindu palace, of the main part of which a photozincograph is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Surv. of India*, vol. II, Plate lxxxv. In front of it is an open cloister, with suites of rooms at each end, which form three sides of a court-yard; and outside the court-yard is a deep square tank with steps leading down to the water's edge, while close by there is a second tank. Judging from the contents of the inscription, I have no doubt that the building thus described by Sir

[14] *lit.* 'on its swelling, or becoming very numerous.'

[15] *lit.* 'on the road.'

[16] See note 9, above.

[17] Compare the *mûme-perjerepu-paṭṭâ*, which, with the title of Tribhuvanâchâri, Vikramâditya II. presented to the architect of his temple at Paṭṭadakal; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 164.

[18] The absence of any copulative suffix with the word *kalnâḍ*, prevents our translating "the Bempûr Twelve and the Kalnâḍ district;" and shews that the Kalnâḍ district consisted of the Bempûr Twelve.

[19] This is the only expression in the whole record, the meaning of which has remained at all doubtful. *Sávuchara*, or more properly *savuchara*, must be a corruption of the Sanskrit *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.' And *nâgaraṅge* is I should think, a mistake for *nâgattaraṅge*, 'to the Nâgattara.'

A. Cunningham[1] was really a Maṭha or residence of ascetics, and that one of the existing tanks is the very tank the construction of which is recorded in this inscription.

The inscription is engraved on an erect tablet in the left end wall of the lower verandah of the main building. It consists of 64 lines of writing, which cover a space of 6′ 11″ high by 2′ 10½″ broad. The writing is nearly throughout in a state of perfect preservation, so that almost everything may be read with absolute certainty. The average size of the letters is between ¾″ and ⅞″. The characters are Nâgarî of the 10th or 11th century; they were written on the stone by Rudra, and engraved by Jejjâka (line 64). The language is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the introductory *oṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the words *Rudreṇa likhitâ* at the end, the inscription is in verse. It was composed by Devadatta, and delineated or copied out (*varṇitâ*) by his son Haradatta (verses 68 and 69). As regards grammar and orthography, there are few things which need be drawn attention to. Except in the word *divisadâṁ*, in line 32, for which in classical Sanskṛit we should have expected *divishadâṁ*, the sibilants are everywhere employed in their proper places. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Instead of *anusvâra*, we have the guttural nasal in *vṛiṅhitâni*, line 1, and the dental in *śreyânsi*, line 3, and *-śansi*, line 9; and instead of *ri*, the vowel *ṛi* in *udṛikta*, line 22. Before *r* the consonant *t* is nine times doubled, *e.g.*, in *ttripura-*, line 5, *-mâttraṁ*, line 22, *yattra*, lines 31 and 57; and the word *ujjvala* is, as usually, spelt *ujvala*, in lines 50 and 56. A wrong *saṁdhi* we have in *phalam=vipula-*, line 6, and in *Kim-vâmṛita*[c], line 57; and wrong grammatical forms are *âpya* for *âptvâ*, in line 11, and *samudîyamânaḥ* for *samudyan*, or *samudayan*, in line 7. Besides, I may draw attention to the unusual noun *parishvashkaṇî*, in line 4, and to the verb *ud-akhoṭi*, in line 64, derived from *ut-khuṭ*, 'to cut or engrave,' which has not been met with elsewhere.

Considering that the language is generally plain and easy to understand, and that the inscription offers very little that can be of value to the historian, it will be sufficient to give the following short abstract of the contents :—

After the introductory "oṁ, adoration to Śiva," and five verses in honour of Gaṇeśa (Vinâyaka), Sarasvatî, and Śiva (Śambhu, Dhûrjaṭi, Tripura-vijayin), the inscription records (in verse 6) that Śiva (Purâri) once pleased Brahman by offering him a sacrifice, the result of which was the origin of the family or line of sages which will be treated of in the following (v. 7). In it, there was a sage who is described as Kadambaguhâdhivâsin, 'the inhabitant of Kadambaguhâ'; from him sprang the sage Śaṅkhamaṭhikâdhipati, 'the superintendent of Śaṅkhamaṭhikâ'; next came Terambipâla, 'the protector of Terambi'; then Âmardakatîrthanâtha, 'the lord of Âmardakatîrtha'; and after him Purandara (vv. 8-10). When the king, the illustrious Avanti or Avantivarman, who was desirous of being initiated in the doctrines of the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of this sage, he resolved to bring him to his own country. He accordingly went to Upendrapura, induced the sage to accede to his request, was initiated by him in the Śaiva faith, and duly rewarded him (vv. 11-13). Purandara then founded a Maṭha, or residence of ascetics, at Mattamayûra, the prince's town; and he also established another Maṭha, at Raṇipadra, the place where the inscription is (vv. 14 and 15). Next came Kavachaśiva; his disciple was Sadâśiva; and he was succeeded by Hṛidayeśa (vv. 16-21). Hṛidayeśa's disciple was Vyomaśiva

[1] See his *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, pages 303—305. It will be seen below that the inscription mentions no king Someśa or Someśvara, and no town Mâyâpura.

(Vyomaśambhu, or Vyomeśa), whose holiness and learning, in which he surpassed all manner of devotees and learned men (the Śâkyas or Buddhists, who are compared to elephants, the jackal-like Jainas, and others), are eulogised in verses 22-42. He restored to Raṇipadra its former splendour, repaired and enlarged the Maṭha, erected temples and set up statues of Śiva, and he in particular built a magnificent tank, to the description of which no less than twenty verses of the inscription are devoted (vv. 45-64). Verse 65 expresses the wish that the tank may last for ever; and v. 66 forbids the planting of trees near it. And, finally, v. 67 forbids the ascetics to sleep on beds and to allow women to pass the night within the Maṭha.—The inscription is not dated, but it may on palæographical grounds be assigned to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

Of the individuals mentioned in the above, only the prince Avanti or Avantivarman would be likely to interest the historian; but we know nothing about him from other sources, and I can only suggest that he may be related to the Chaulukya princes Avanivarman, Sadhanva, and Siṁhavarman, the ancestors of the Chedi queen Nohalâ, who are mentioned in verses 34 and 35 of the Bilhari inscription, and that he cannot have lived later than the second half of the 9th century. Of the places, Raṇipadra I take to be Ranod itself; Mattamayûra, the town of Avantivarman, and Upendrapura (or Vishṇupura?), the original dwelling-place of the sage Purandara, I am unable to identify. As regards Kadambaguhâ and the other localities from which the earlier sages receive their appellations, I would suggest that Terambi may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Ranod, and Kadambaguhâ with Kadwaia or Kadwâha, a place which is about six miles south of Terahi, and where there are even now four standing temples and the ruins of nine others.[2]

Of the sages themselves, Purandara is evidently the personage called Mattamayûranâtha, 'the lord of Mattamayûra', in verse 49 of the Bilhari inscription. And the account given of him and of his having initiated Avantivarman in the Śaiva faith, in the present inscription, shows that we must read the second half of that verse, one or two *aksharas* of which were indistinct in the impressions, and the exact meaning of which was not apparent at the time, thus:—

niḥśesha-kalmasha-mashîm=apahṛitya yena
saṅkrâmitam=para-mahô nṛipater=Avanteḥ ‖;

and must translate:—'who, when he had removed every stain of impurity from the prince Avanti, communicated (*to him*) supreme splendour (*by initiating him in the Śaiva faith*).'

Of the other sages, the Bilhari inscription too mentions Sadâśiva and Hṛidayaśiva (Hṛidayeśa); but in the place of Kavachaśiva that inscription has Dharmaśambhu, and between Sadâśiva and Hṛidayaśiva it interposes two other sages, one described as Mâdhumateya, and the other called Chûḍâśiva.

I owe to the kindness of Mr. Fleet a rough rubbing, received from Sir A. Cunningham, of a third inscription which treats of the same line of Śaiva ascetics that is eulogized in the Ranod and Bilhari inscriptions. This third inscription is at Chandrehe on the Son river in Rewa, and has been previously mentioned by Mr. Beglar in *Archæol.*

[2] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, pages 176 and 177.

Surv. of India, vol. XIII, page 8. It is on two slabs of stone, each measuring about 3′ 2″ broad by 1′ 4″ high, and consists of 27 lines. According to Mr. Beglar it contains the date *Samvat 324 Phâlguna-sudi 6*, the year of which Mr. Beglar proposes to alter to 1324. But the inscription is really dated *Samvat 724 Phâlguna-śudi 5*, and, from the style of the writing and the locality in which the inscription was put up, this date must be referred to the Chedi era, so that the year corresponds to A.D. 972-3. Like the Ranod inscription, this one also appears to be of slight importance,[3] and I here refer to it chiefly because in line 5 it mentions, apparently in connection with Mattamayûra, the sage Purandara of the present inscription. For since Purandara, in the Chandrehe inscription, is followed by about five more generations of sages, the date of the inscription proves beyond doubt, what I have intimated above, that that sage, and with him the prince Avantivarman, cannot possibly be placed later than the end of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.[4]

L. 1. ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥

प्राङ्गपेक्षनवाम्भोदगर्ज्जितौर्ज्जित्यजिन्ति वः ।

वैनायकानि निघ्नन्तु निर्व्विघ्नं वृङ्हितान्यघम्[5] ॥ [6]—[1].

प्रसन्नौजस्विमधुर-

2. व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपभाक् ।

देवता वाक्सरिद्वेदैर्म्मुदे स्ताद्वः सरस्वती ॥ —[2].

संपूर्णाङ्गमशेषकल्मषमुषः सम्पन्नमप्यादरा-

दूरं पादतलाव-

3. घट्टननमत्कैलासनश्यत्स्थिति ।

सानन्दं युगपत्सुरासुरसभासंरम्भदत्तव्यथं

शम्भोर्ल्लास्यपरिग्रहस्य दिशतु श्रेयान्सि[7] वः स्थानकम् ॥[8] —[3].

चरणभरावनता-

4. वनिविनमत्कमठोरुकर्प्पराभोगा ।

नाट्यस्य धूर्ज्जटेर्धुरि वर्ण्णपरिष्वष्कणी जयति ॥ [9]—[4].

उत्क्षिप्तो दण्डपादो ग्रहगणमुडुभिः सार्द्धमुत्तम्भ्य भूयः

प्रायाद्यावत्स्वसीमाम-

5. परपदभरभ्रष्टपृष्ठा क्व भूमिः ।

इत्यंदौस्थ्येपि रङ्गे गगनतलचलच्चारिकाचारवृत्ते-

[3] My rubbing is so indistinct that I am unable to give an accurate account of the contents of the inscription. But so far as I can see, it records the construction of a tank and some buildings by a sage Praśântaśiva, and their restoration by the sage's disciple Prabodhaśiva. The spiritual ancestors of Praśântaśiva appear to be Purandara, Śikhâśiva (who seems to be called Madhumati-pati, an appellation which may explain the name Mâdhumateya of the Bilhari inscription), and Prabhâvaśiva. The inscription, which is in verse, was composed by the poet Dhâmsaṭa, the son of Jeîka and Amarikâ, and grandson of Mehuka, and engraved by Dâmodara, the son of Lakshmîdhara and younger brother of Vâsudeva.

Perhaps I may here draw attention to a note on page 5 of *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XIII, according to which there is in the Asiatic Society's collection a rubbing of an inscription from Makundpur (which is near Chandrehe), dated in (apparently Chedi) Samvat 772. It is very desirable that this inscription should be examined.

[4] From two impressions, prepared by Dr. Führer, and supplied to me by the Editor.

[5] Read वृंहिता°.

[6] Metre of verses 1 and 2, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read श्रेयांसि.

[8] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[9] Metre, Âryâ.

स्त्रायन्तां वस्त्रिसन्ध्यं त्रिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवक्रीडितानि ॥[10] —[5].
भक्त्योपसन्नं स्थिरभक्तिगम्यः प-
L. 6. द्मासनं दारुवनेतिरम्ये ।
विधाय यज्ञं विधिना विधिज्ञः किलानुजग्राह पुरा पुरारिः ॥[11] —[6].
[12]यच्छन्फलम्विपुलनिर्वृतिबीजमुच्चैः पूर्व्वोत्तरं विपुलवर्द्धितभूरिशाखः ।
तस्माद-
7. पूर्व्व उदभून्मुनिवंश एष निर्ग्रन्थिरन्तरतिसारतरोस्तरन्ध्रः ॥[13] —[7].
तस्मिन्मुनिः सकललोकनमस्यमूर्त्तिरिन्दूपमः प्रतिदिनं समुदीयमानः ।
श्रीमानभूद्भुवि कदम्ब(ख्ब)गुहाधिवासी तस्माच्च श-
8. ङ्खमठिकाधिपतिर्म्मुनीन्द्रः ॥ —[8].
तेरम्बि(म्बि)पालः प्रमथाधिपस्य तुलां दधत्कामजयोदयेन ।
ततोभवद्भूरितपास्ततोपि सत्ख्यातिरामर्द्दकतीर्थनाथः ॥[14] —[9].
तस्मा-
9. त्पुरन्दरगुरुर्गुरुवद्गरिम्णः प्रज्ञातिरेकजनितस्य व(ब)भूव भूमिः ।
यस्याधुनापि विवु(बु)धैरितिकृत्यशन्सि[15] व्याहन्यते न वचनं नयमार्गविद्भिः ॥[16] —[10].
वन्द्यः कोपि चका-
10. स्त्यचिन्त्यमहिमा तुल्यं मुनिर्भास्वता
राजन्नुत्तमशब्द(ब्द)पूर्व्वशिखराभ्यर्ण्णम्प्रकीर्ण्णद्युतिः ।
दीक्षार्थीति वचो निशम्य सुकृती चारोक्तमुर्व्वीपति-
र्यस्येहानयनाय यत्नमकरो-
11. च्छ्रीमानवन्तिः पुरा ॥[17] —[11].
गत्वा तपस्यन्तमुपेन्द्रपूर्व्वं पुरे तदा श्रीमदवन्तिवर्म्मा ।
भृशं समाराध्य तमात्मभूमिं कथञ्चिदानीय चकार पूताम् ॥[18] —[12].
अथोपसद्याप्य च सम्यगैशीं
12. दीक्षां स दक्षो गुरुदक्षिणार्थम् ।
निवेद्य यस्मै निजराज्यसारं स्वजन्मसाफल्यमवाप भूपः ॥ —[13].
स कारयामास समृद्धिभाजं मुनिर्म्मठं सन्मुनिरत्न-
13. भूमिम् ।
प्रसिद्धमावारिधि मेरुकल्पं श्रीमत्पुरे मत्तमयूरनाम्नि ॥ —[14].
पुनर्द्वितीयं स्वयमद्वितीयो गुणैर्म्मुनीन्द्रो रणिपद्रसंज्ञम् ।
तपोवनं श्रेष्ठमठं वि-
14. धाय प्रष्ठः प्रतिष्ठां परमां निनाय ॥ —[15].
आसीदतः कवचपूर्व्वशिवाभिधानो लोकप्रियः कवचवद्दृढदृष्टशक्तिः ।
यः सर्व्वतो वहति संयति संयताङ्गो

[10] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[11] Metre, Upajâti.
[12] Read यच्छन्फलं वि°.
[13] Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakâ.
[14] Metre, Upajâti.
[15] Read •शंसि.
[16] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[17] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[18] Metre of verses 12—15 Upajâti.

L. 15. दार्ढ्यं गुणाढ्यमिति कामशरैरभेद्यः ॥[19] —[16].
सदाशिवस्तस्य च शिष्य आसीत्सदा शिवः सर्व्वजनस्य शान्त्या ।
तपोवनं यो रणिपद्रनाम प्रसाधयामास
16. तपःसमृद्धया ॥[20] —[17].
अस्मादनल्पादुदयाद्रिकल्पाल्लब्धो(ब्धो)दयोभूदुदयेशसंज्ञः ।
आचार्यसूर्यस्तमसां विदार्य प्रकाममौदार्यमहार्यवीर्यः ॥[21] —[18].
निरवधि वर्द्धते न च वि(बि)-
17. भर्त्तिं पुरो लघुभावमात्मनः
प्रसरति दिङ्मुखेषु न च चलति मनागपि मार्गसंस्थितेः ।
स्फुरति समस्तवर्णरुचितं न च मुञ्चति चारुशुभ्रता-
मलमधुनापि यस्य
18. कृतिनोद्भुतमित्यमहर्निशं यशः ॥[22] —[19].
यस्यात्मेन्द्रियनिग्रहे निजगुरुस्थानान्यलंकुर्व्वतः
प्रीतिः पात्रपरिग्रहे च दधतः साधूपभोग्याः श्रियः ।
स्वभ्य-
19. स्ताखिलशास्त्रनिर्म्मलमतेरासीत्स एकः परं
कान्यैः स्वोदरपूर्त्तिमात्ररतिभिस्तृष्णाभिभूतैः कथा ॥[23] —[20].
यदि गुणकीर्त्तनमधुना निःशेषं तस्य साधु वि-
20. ब्रूणोमि ।
तद्वक्तुं कीर्त्तिमिमां नावसरः प्रस्तुतां तदलम् ॥[24] —[21].
औदार्याद्गुरुभारदुर्व्वहधुरानिर्व्यूढवीर्योदयः
शिष्यः शिष्यवतां विशेषक इव प्रस्ताव-
21. मुख्यः सताम् ।
श्रीमान्व्योमशिवाह्वयः समभवत्तस्यापि तादृक्पुन-
र्यादृग्भूरिभिरुग्रमद्भुततमैस्तस्तैस्तपोभिर्भवेत् ॥ [25]—[22].
श्लाघ्यं जन्म जगत्त्रयेपि दधतः शेषस्य
22. तस्य क्षमा-
मस्य व्योमपदादिमन्त्ररचनाख्याताभिधानस्य च ।
उद्धर्त्तुं विपदि प्रजां गुरुभरव्यापारदत्तात्मनो
यस्योद्(द्रि)क्तपरोपकारकरुणामात्रं प्रवृत्तेः फ-
23. लम् ॥ —[23].
यस्योच्चैश्चरितं चिरात्पुलकभृद्गण्डस्थलश्रेणिभि-
र्म्लेच्छव्यञ्जितम[न्द्र]तारगमकैः संगीयते किन्नरैः ।
सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः समं प्रतपतः प्र[ध्वं]स्य[26] दूरं

[19] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[20] Metre, Upendravajrâ.
[21] Metre, Upajâti.
[22] Metre, Dhritasrî (or Pañchakâvalî); the second line of the verse is incorrect.
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[24] Metre, Âryâ.
[25] Metre of verses 22—24, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[26] The sign of *anusvâra* over the second *akshara* of this word is doubtful in the original.

L. 24. तम-

स्तस्यास्याद्भुतकर्म्मणः किमपरैः स्तोत्रैर्व्विचित्रैरपि ॥ —[24].

द्रढिष्ठसदनुष्ठानो मदिष्ठमितभाषितः ।

योन्वतिष्ठत्प्रतिष्ठावत्प्रष्ठः सद्व्रतिनां व्रतम् ॥[27] —[25].

यः संय-

25. मस्य विनयस्य नयस्य सम्यक्पुण्यस्य चारुचरितस्य च कीर्त्तनस्य ।

एकत्र वस्तुमिति सद्गुण[सं?] ◡ — [स्य] त्वष्टा प्रतिश्रयगृहं गृहिणेव जज्ञे ॥[28] —[26].

सर्व्वत्र निर्वृतिक-

26. [रे]ण निरन्तरेण लब्धो(ब्धो)दयेन धवलेन दिगायतेन ।

वर्द्धिष्णुनाधिकमलंकृतमेतदिन्दोर्द्योतेन यस्य च गुण[प्रस]रेण विश्वम् ॥ —[27].

लोकालोकान्तरालभ्रमणपरिणताव-

27. र्त्तवेगप्रवृत्ति-

र्व्वातूलोत्ताललीलां द्रुतगति तुलयन्व्याप्तदिक्चक्रवालः ।

निर्द्धूयाशेषविश्वाक्रमणपटु रजः पावनैर्व्वर्त्तनैर्द्या-

मारादाश्वश्रुवानस्तपस उदग-

28. मद्यस्य दूरं प्रतापः ॥[29] —[28].

येनेदं पुरमापदन्धतमसे मग्नं नियोगाद्विधेः

सत्कीर्त्त्या रणिपद्रसं[न्नम]चिरादुद्धृत्य यत्याश्रमम् ।

भूपृष्ठं शशिनेव निर्म्मलत-

29. रस्फारस्फुरत्तेजसा

सर्व्वानन्युदयेन पौरसहितं नीतं पुनस्ताः श्रियः ॥[30] —[29].

स्फारैर्धान्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवहैर्न्निःशेषमन्तर्व्वहि-

स्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गमै-

30. र्म्मदभरोद्दत्तैश्च गर्ज्जद्गजैः ।

स्वस्थानस्य विशीर्णविद्रुतमठस्योद्दामलक्ष्मीभृतो

भूभागास्तपसा पुनर्व्वरुचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥ —[30].

सा श्लाघा वसतिः स

31. एव विषयस्ते प्राणिनस्ता दिशः

सा भूर्भूमिपतिः स एव किमतस्ते ते प्रदेशाः परम् ।

यत्रास्तेयमशेषसत्व(त्त्व)हितकृत्कृत्यप्रवृत्तः स्वयं

पु-

32. ण्यानां प्रगुणीकृतोवनिसृजा पुंजो वपुष्मानिव ॥ —[31].

यद्वाचां मनसां च गोचरमतिक्रान्तेन भूम्नान्वितं

यद्गीतं गुणगर्व्वितैर्द्विविस(ष)दां दारैरदभ्रादरं ।

यत्सत्व(त्त्व)ज्वलितैः प्र-

[27] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[28] Metre of verses 26 and 27, Vasantatilakâ.

[29] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[30] Metre of verses 29—32, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

L. 33. चण्डतपसां तेजोभिरुन्मीलितं
तन्नान्यत्र चरित्रमुन्नतमतावच्चैव तावत्स्थितम् ॥ —[32].
पुरा योषित्सङ्गादनिभृतनिजाचं भगवता
विजिग्ये यः कामस्त्रिपुररिपुणाविष्कृतरुषा ।
34. निरुद्धाचः चान्त्या तमयमजयत्सङ्गरहितः
सुचीर्णानां स्याद्वा किमिह तपसां दुष्क[र]मिति ॥ [31]—[33].
स्फारास्फालनघातनिर्द्दयदलद्गम्भीरभेरीरव-
व्याजेनोज्जगुरा कुमारचरिता-
35. त्सद्र(द्र)ह्मचर्यन्तपः ।
यस्याराधयतस्त्रिसंध्यमधुतध्यानस्थितेर्द्दूर्ज्जटिं
चैतन्योज्झितवृत्तयोपि समये सद्रूपवेलोत्सवाः ॥ [32]—[34].
स्तुत्यं स्यात्किमिहास्य नाम चरितं न स्यात्सुपुण्या-
36. र्थिना-
मा वा(बा)ल्यात्सहकीर्त्तिसञ्चिततपस्तेजःसमुत्तेजितम् ।
यस्योच्चैरलघूत्रमद्गुणगुरु व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमाडम्ब(म्ब)र-
व्यग्रैर्द्राक्ष्यतरुद्रवा(बा)हुपरिघैः संधार्यते यत्नतः ॥ —[35].
सिद्धा-
37. न्तेषु महेश एष नियतं न्यायेक्षपादो मुनि-
र्गम्भीरे च कणाशिनस्तु कणभुक्शास्त्रे श्रुतौ जैमिनिः ।
सांख्येनल्पमतिः स्वयञ्च कपिलो लोकायते सद्गुरु-
र्व्वु(र्ब्बु)द्धो वु(बु)द्धमते-
38. जिनोक्तिषु जिनः को वाथ नायं कृतो ॥ —[
यद्भूतं यदनागतं यदधुना किञ्चित्क्वचिद्वर्त्तते
सम्यग्दर्शनसंपदा तदखिलं पश्यन्प्रमेयं महत् ।
सर्व्वज्ञः स्फुटमेष
39. कोपि भगवानन्यः क्षितौ शंकरो
धत्ते किन्तु न शान्तधीर्व्विषमदृग्रौद्रं वपुः केवलम् ॥ —[37].
अस्मिन्नुद्दामधाम्नि प्रचुरतरतपःसीम्नि विख्यातनाम्नि
सर्व्वानन्युक्त[सा?]-
40. म्नि क्षितिभृदुरुभरस्फर्द्दिपुण्यद्वरिम्णि ।
संपन्नप्रेम्णि सत्सु स्वयशसि निहितस्फारसारप्रथिम्नि
विद्योत्सर्प्पन्महिम्नि त्रिभुवनतिलके के गुणा हन्त न स्युः ॥[33] —[38]
संलीनं
41. मुख एव शाक्यकरिणामत्यूर्ज्जितं गर्ज्जितं
त्रासाद्यस्य च जैनजम्बु(म्बु)कशतैर्द्दुर्व्याहृतं संहृतं ।
सोढं जातु न जैमिनीयहरिणैर्ल्लीलाकृतं हुंकृतं
तस्यान्यद्वगनेशकान-

[31] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[32] Metre of verses 34—37, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[33] Metre, Sragdharâ.

L. 42. नपतेः किं स्यात्स्तुतं प्रस्तुतम् ॥ [34]—[39].
यस्योच्चकैः स्फुरति संतमसं निरस्य तेजः परं प्रतिनिशं प्रतिवासरं च ।
अन्यः स एष ननु चन्द्रमसो रवेश्च चन्द्रावदातचरितः सुत-
43. रां चकास्ति ॥ [35]—[40].
यस्यामलं स्फुरति सद्गुणरत्नवृन्दमानन्दकारि जगतां जलताविहीनं ।
श्रीव्योमशम्भुजलधिः स खलु व्युदस्ततृष्णः सतां समभवद्भुवि कोप्यपूर्व्वः ॥ —[41].
44. माधुर्यं विनयो नयोनलसता त्यागः क्षमा प्रश्रयः
स्थैर्यं धैर्यमहार्यवीर्यकलितं सद्र(द्र)ह्मचर्यन्तपः ।
इत्यादि प्रचिनोमि चेतसि चिरं यद्यत्किमप्यादरा-
त्तत्तत्स-
45. [र्व्व]मचिन्त्यमस्य महतः कस्यास्तु वाचां पथि ॥ [36]—[42].
रेजुः सज्जनरक्तभावजननान्या सिन्धुवेलावधे-
श्चित्रं यस्य यशांसि कुन्दकलिकाक्रोडप्रभाभांज्यपि ।
तस्यायं खलु देव-
46. तायतनवान्वापीनिवेशः शुभः
सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्त्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ —[43].
शिवयुग्ममुमादेवीनाथेश्वरविनायकौ ।
स मठं मन्दिरै रम्यैरयमेतान्य-
47. चीकरत् ॥ [37]—[44].
प्रतिक्षपं या प्रतिवि(बि)म्ब(म्ब)तां गते सुनिर्म्मले वारिणि तारकागणे ।
कुमुद्वतीसङ्गसमुज्झिताप्यलं विभाति विष्वक्कुमुदैरिवाचिता ॥ [38]—[45].
प्रसादमाधुर्यनिकाम-
48. हृद्यं विराजते यत्र गभीरमम्भः ।
विडम्ब(म्ब)यत्सत्कविकाव्यव(ब)न्धं विशुद्धवर्णाहितचारुशोभम् ॥ [39]—[46].
शैलात्मजाभक्तिपरप्रयातपौराङ्गनानूपुरशिञ्जितेन ।
प्रतिक्षणं
49. या कलहंसनादभ्रमं विधत्ते श्रुतिपेशलेन ॥ [40]—[47].
धृतोदपात्रावनताङ्गनानां मुखैर्व्विचित्राधरपत्र(त्र)रम्यैः ।
तोयं गतैर्या प्रतिवि(बि)म्ब(म्ब)नेन भृ[शा?]रविन्देव वि(बि)भर्त्ति शोभाम् ॥ —[48].
50. अपूर्व्वविन्यासविशेषकेण विभूषिता या दयितेव दृष्टा ।
सोपानमालावलिचारुमध्या नानन्दयत्कस्य मनो मनोज्ञा ॥ —[49].
प्रासादा यत्र भासन्ते कुन्देन्दुकुमुदोज्व(ज्ज्व)-
51. लाः ।
श्रीव्योमेशमहीव्यापियशोवीजाङ्कुरा इव ॥ [41]—[50].
या नीलकण्ठेन तटोपकण्ठं कृतास्पदा धाम परं सुखस्य ।
प्रासादरम्या रमणीयभूमिः पुरा पुरारेः सदृशी चका-

[34] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[35] Metre of verses 40 and 41, Vasantatilakâ.
[36] Metre of verses 42 and 43, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[37] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[38] Metre, Vaṁśastha.
[39] Metre, Upendravajrâ.
[40] Metre of verses 47—49, Upajâti.
[41] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

L. 52. स्ति ॥ [42]—[51].

यत्सन्निधौ सान्द्रसुधासितिम्ना प्रासादमालानुदिनं विभाति ।
भयेन भानोः परिणाममेत्य ज्योत्स्ना स्थितेवामरसद्मभूर्त्त्या ॥ —[52].
अम्भोनिधिस्तुङ्गतुषारशैलैः सम्यग्वि-

53. राजेद्यदि कूललीनैः ।
तेनोपमीयेत तदा स्फुटं या समुन्नतैर्न्नाकिगृहैर्व्विभान्ती ॥ —[53].
अमुक्तमुक्ताफलचारुकान्ति तोयं सदैव प्रतिभाति यत्र ।
अमूर्त्ततावाच्यमसोढुका-

54. ममुचैरभून्मूर्त्तमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ —[54].
शरन्निशेवामलचन्द्रकान्त्या सरोजलक्ष्मेव सरोजलक्ष्मीः ।
अलंकृता चारुतया व्यधत्त या निर्वृतिं कस्य न दृश्यमाना ॥ —[55].
या सर्व्वदा

55. नोज्झति यन्निकामं सत्सूपकारं च गभीरतां च ।
जलैरनल्पैर्भृशमास्थितापि फलं तदेतद्धि कुलीनतायाः ॥ —[56].
मृगाङ्कवि(बि)म्बे(म्बे) प्रतिमागते या स्फुरत्तरङ्गाङ्गुलिभिर्व्वि-

56. लोले ।
स्वचारुसौन्दर्यविलोकनाय धृतामलादर्शतलेव भाति ॥ [43]—[57].
स्थिराणि तुङ्गानि सुधोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लानि निरन्तराण्यार्ज्जवसुन्दराणि ।
सतां मनांसीव सदानुकूलं विभान्ति यस्याः

57. सुरमन्दिराणि ॥ —[58].
इदं नभः किन्द्रवता कुतोस्य किम्वामृतन्तत्कथमत्र चित्रम् ।
अङ्गाय यच्चेति वितर्क्कयु[क्तो] जलं न निश्चेतुमलं जनौघः ॥ [44]—[59].
सन्मीनभूमिर्भवतु प्रकामं मनोर-

58. मा द्यौर्व्व(र्ब्ब)डवारिदा च ।
तथापि सामान्यगुणादुदस्ता यया विचित्रां रचनां दधत्या ॥ —[60].
जित्वारिषड्वर्गमनर्थमूलं धर्म्मे रताः सन्तु सदैव सन्तः ।
यस्यामितीवाह सुरालया-

59. ली निलीनपा[राव]तमन्द्रनादैः [45] ॥—[61].
रङ्गत्तरङ्गातिमनोरमभ्रू रथाङ्गनामोरुपयोधरा या ।
दिक्षु क्षिपन्ती शफरीकटाक्षानचूचुरत्पान्थदृशं प्रियेव ॥ —[62].
यदस्ति किंचित्क्वचि-

60. दप्यनिन्द्यमानन्दहेतुर्ज्जगतीह वस्तु ।
तदेकदेशे निखिलं विधाय या वेधसोच्चैर्घटितेव रम्या ॥ —[63].
कुवलयमतीव वापीं विभूषयति यदतिसुप्रसिद्धमदः ।
चित्रमिद-

[42] Metre of verses 51—56, Upajâti.
[43] Metre of verses 57 and 58, Upendravajrâ.
[44] Metre of verses 59—63, Upajâti; read किंवामृ°.
[45] The second of the two *aksharas* in brackets was originally प.

L. 61. न्तु विचित्रा या कुवलयमप्यलंकुरुते ॥ [46]—[64].

स्थिरा सैषा वापी गगनशशिमौलेर्भगवतो

भवत्वाचन्द्रार्कम्प्रथिततपसो भूरियशसः ।

यदीये भातीयं शरदमलचन्द्रांशुधवला

62. सुराणां सद्मालो विकटतटपृष्ठे शिखरिणी ॥ [47]—[65].

वापीतः निकटं यः पादपमारोपयिष्यति [त्रात्य]: ।

याता स पञ्चपातकयुक्तः खलु दुस्तरे निरये ॥ [48]—[66].

पञ्चैव

63. तेषामिह पातकानि खप्स्यन्ति खट्वासु शठा मठे ये ।

येभ्यन्तरे मूढधियो रजन्यां दास्यन्त्यनार्या वसतिञ्च नार्याः ॥ [49]—[67].

प्रशस्ता देवसंलापपूर्व्वदत्ताह्वयेन या ।

64. विहिता सुख्यशब्दा(व्दा)र्था सा [सुदेस्तु सतामियम्] ॥[50] —[68].

देवदत्तसुतेनैषा हरदत्तेन वर्णिता ।

वापी[प्रश]स्तिका रम्या जेज्जाकेनोदखोटि च ॥ —[69].

रुद्रेण लिखिता ॥ ॥

XLII.—HAMPE INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNARAYA, DATED SAKA 1430.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

The original of this inscription is in the great Śiva temple of Pampâpati[1] at the modern village of Hampe, which is situated on the southern bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ river and at the north-western extremity of the ruins of Vijayanagara. It is engraved on the south and north faces of a stone tablet, which is set up in front of a *maṇḍapa*. The south face is badly mutilated at the bottom. The second half of the inscription, which is in fair preservation, was published by Mr. Fleet from a photograph by Dr. Pigou.[2] A rough transcript and paraphrase of the Sanskṛit portion and a translation of the Kanarese portion of the inscription had already before appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*.[3] I re-edit the whole from an estampage made in 1889.

A second copy of the same inscription is engraved on the north and south faces of another stone tablet, which is set up to the left of the entrance to the Pampâpati temple. This copy is much worn, but helps to ascertain how many verses are lost at the bottom of the south face of the first copy.

[46] Metre, Âryâ.
[47] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[48] Metre, Âryâ.
[49] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[50] Metre of verses 68 and 69, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[1] No. 13 on the *Madras Survey Map of Hampe.*
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, pp. 73ff. The photograph was published in the *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, issued by Mr. (now Sir) T. C. Hope in 1866, No. 32; and reproduced by the Arch. Survey of Western India in *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions* (1878), No. 115.
[3] Vol. XX, pp. 25 and 39 (fourth inscription), and p. 34 (twelfth inscription).

The inscription opens with 29 Sanskṛit verses, which contain a genealogical account of the second Vijayanagara dynasty down to Kṛishṇarâya. Then follows a passage in Sanskṛit prose, which records a gift to the temple by this king. The document ends with a Kanarese version of the same donation.

The genealogy consists of a mythical and a historical part. The former (verses 3 and 4) runs as follows :—

The Moon.
|
Budha.
|
Purûravas.
|
Âyus.
|
Nahusha.
|
Yayâti, md. Devayânî.
|
Turvasu.

The historical part begins with verse 5 :—"In his (*viz.*, Turvasu's) race shone king Timma, who was famous among the princes of Tuḷuva, just as Kṛishṇa shone in the race of Yadu." From this verse we learn, first, that the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty was a native of Tuḷu or Northern Malayâḷam, the country of the Tuḷuvas. Secondly, he must have been a usurper, as he claims only a mythical relationship to the princes of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara. For, while the kings of this dynasty used to derive their origin from Yadu,[4] Timma selected, in opposition to his predecessors on the throne, Yadu's younger brother Turvasu as the mythical progenitor of his race. The inscription continues the pedigree from Timma as follows :—

1. Timma, md. Devakî.
|
2. Îśvara, md. Bukkamâ.
|
3. Narasa or Nṛisiṁha (Śaka 1404 and 1418).[5]
|
a. by Tippâjî— 4. Vîra-Nṛisiṁha or Vîra-Nârasiṁha.
b. by Nâgalâ— 5. Kṛishṇarâya (Śaka 1430 to 1451).[6]

The description of the reigns of these kings is purely conventional. At first sight a historical fact seems to be contained in verse 10, according to which king Narasa conquered Śrîraṅgapaṭṭaṇa. But a reference to a published inscription of Harihara II.[7] shows that this verse was borrowed, together with others, from an "office copy" of the first dynasty, in which it had formed part of the description of the reign of Saṁgama. Regarding the successors of Kṛishṇarâya, the reader is referred to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 154.

[4] See, *e.g.*, Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, pp. 156 and 160.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 131, No. 115, and p. 132, No. 119. In both inscriptions the king is called Narasiṁha.

[6] The earliest date is that of the present inscription, and the latest that of another inscription at Vijayanagara; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX, p. 29.

[7] *Journal, Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 352, lines 17 to 20.

The second part of the inscription, which is written in Sanskṛit prose (north face, lines 11 to 25), records that Kṛishṇadeva-mahârâya gave the village of Siṅgenâyakanahaḷḷi to the Śiva temple called Virûpâksha, and built an assembly-hall (*raṅgamaṇḍapa*) in connection with the same temple. Virûpâkshadeva, the old name of the Pampâpati temple, occurs already in inscriptions of Bukka and Harihara II. of the first dynasty.[8] By the assembly-hall must be meant the *maṇḍapa*, in front of which the stone tablet is set up. In a verse (30), with which the Sanskṛit portion ends, the inscription is called an edict (*śâsana*) of Kṛishṇarâya.

The same donation is referred to, with some additions, in the Kanarese portion, where, however, the name of the village is spelt Siṅginâyakanahaḷḷi, with an *i* instead of an *e* in the second syllable.[9] Lines 27f. of the north face contain the date of the grant, Śâlivâhana-Śaka-varsha 1430 expired, the Śukla-saṁvatsara current,[10] Mâgha Śu 14, on which day was the festival of the king's coronation. Though no earlier inscriptions of Kṛishṇarâya are known, it is at present impossible to say, whether the real day of the coronation or an anniversary of it is intended.

In the Sanskṛit portion of the inscription occur two Kanarese *birudas*, to which the Sanskṛit case-termination is affixed (*bhâshege tappuva râyara gaṇḍaḥ*, north face, line 4, and *mûṛu-râyara gaṇḍaḥ*, line 5f.), also a Sanskṛitized form of an Arabic word (*suratrâṇa* = سلطان, lines 6 and 14) and of a Persian word (*hindu* = هندو, line 6); instead of *râjan*, the Kanarese tadbhava *râya* is frequently used.

TEXT.

A.—South face.

L. 1. श्रीकृष्णदेवराय श्री

2. शुभमस्तु । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामरचार[वे] ।

3. त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ [१×]

4. कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोध्यगजोद्भू-

5. तं हरिणापि च पूज्यते । [२×] अस्ति क्षीरमयाद्दैवैर्म्मथ्यमानान्महांबुधेः । नव-

6. नीतमिवोद्भूतमपनीततमो महः । [३×] तस्यासीत्तनयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा

7. बुधः (।) पुण्यैरस्य पुरूरवा भुजबलैरायुर्द्विषाञ्चिघ्रतः । तस्यायुर्न्नहु-

8. षोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे ययातिः क्षितौ (।) ख्यातस्तस्य तु धुर्व्वसुर्वसुनिभः[11]

9. श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ॥ [४×] तद्वंशे देवकीजानिर्द्दिदीपे तिग्मभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुरुवेंद्रेषु

10. यदोः कृष्ण इवान्वये ॥ [५×] ततोभूद्धुक्कमाजानिरीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रासमगुणभ्रं-

11. शं मौक्तिरत्नं महीभुजां ॥ [६×] पद्माक्षो बलिजिन्निजैस्त्रिभुवनाक्रांतिक्षमैर्व्विक्रमैः[:]

12. शंखं चक्रमपि श्रयन्निजकरे श्रीदेवकीनंदनः । भूत्वाप्यद्भुतमीश्वरोयमिति

13. या[12] भूयस्तरां (।) पप्रथे (।) भूतिं चाखिलपूज्यतामतिभृशं भूभृत्सुतामा-

14. श्रितः ॥ [७×] भूवासैकपरोपरो रविरिव प्रासोदयोहर्न्निशं (।) यो मंदेहरिपूनहन् कविबुधोपे-

[8] *Journal, Bombay Br. R. A. Soc.*, vol. XII, pp. 351, 376 and 377. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras edition, vol. II, p. 259.

[9] The second copy of the inscription agrees with this one in the different spelling of the name of the village at both places.

[10] According to the tables, the Śukla-saṁvatsara corresponded to Śaka 1432 (A.D. 1509-10).

[11] Read तुर्वसु°.

[12] Read यौ.

L. 15. तोनपेतो रणात्। आपूर्व्वापरवारिराशि नितरामासेतुहेमाचलं (।) विख्यातो विहमंश्च यो वित-
16. रणैर्व्वद्योतत द्योतरून्॥ [८×] सरसादुदभूत्तस्मान्नरसावनिपालकः। देवकीनंदनात् कामो देव-
17. [की]नंदनादिव ॥ [९×] कावेरीमाशु बध्वा[13] बहळजलरयां तां विलंघैव शत्रुं (।) जीव-ग्राहं गृहीत्वा
18. समिति भुजबलात्तं च राज्यं तदीयं। कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्व्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं यो ब-
19. भासे (।) कीर्त्तिस्तंभत्रिखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदानः॥ [१०×] चेरं चोळं च पांड्यं तम-
20. पि च म[धु]रावल्लभं मानभूषं (।) वीर्योदग्रं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तद-
21. न्यान्। आगंगातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूभृत्तटांतत्रितांतं (।) ख्यातः [त्री]णीपती-
22. नां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत्॥ [११×] विविधसुकृतोद्दामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहु-
23. र्मुदितहृदयः स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधि[14]। बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि यो भुवि
24. षोडश त्रिभुवनजनोद्गीतं स्फीतं यशः पुनरुक्त[यन्] [॥ १२ ॥ तिप्पाजीनाग×]लादेव्योः कौस-
25. ल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः। देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मा[त्पं][त्रिरथादिव[15] ॥ १३ ॥ वीरौ×] विनयिनौ राम-
26. लक्ष्मणाविव नंदनौ। जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरा[यमहीपतौ[16] ॥ १४×] वीरश्रीनारसिंह्यस्य[17]
27. विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः[18] कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यन्नृ[गनलनहुषा×]नप्यव[न्य]मथान्यान् ॥
28. श्रा सेतोरा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतस्स्वैरमा चोदया[द्रेरा पाथात्याच×]लांत्तादखिल-
29. हृदयमावर्ज्य राज्यं शशास ॥ [१५×] नानादानान्यका[र्षी][त्कनकस×]दसि [यः श्री]विरू-पाक्षदेव-
30. स्थाने श्रीकाळहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वेंक[टा]द्रौ च कां[च्यां।] श्रीशैले शोणशैले महति
31. हरिहरेहोबले संगमे च (।) श्रीरंगे कुंभघोणे [ह]त[तम]सि महानंदितीर्थे निवृत्तौ॥ [१६×] गोकर्णे[19]
32. रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्वार[ब्धना×]नाविधबहळमहादानवारिप्रवा-
33. हैः। यस्योदंचत्तुरंगप्रकरखुररजश्शुष्यदं[भोधिम×]गच्छाभृत्पक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तरकु-
34. लिशधरोत्कंठिता कुंठिताभूत्॥ [१७×] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं [घट×]मुदितमहाभूतकं रत्नधे[नुं]
35. स[प्त]ांभोधिं च[20] कल्पक्षितिरुहलतिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं। स्वर्वेश्मां[21] यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि तु-
36. [लापू×]रुषं गोसहस्रं (।) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पंचलांगल्यतानीत्॥ [१८×] प्र[ा]-
37. [ज्यं×] प्रशा[स्य] निर्व्विघ्नं राज्यं द्यामिव शासितुं। तस्मिन् गुणेन विख्याते क्षितेरिंद्रे [दिवं ग]-[ते ॥ १९×]
38. [ततो×]प्य[वा]र्य्यवीर्य्यः श्रीकृष्णरायमहीपतिः। बिभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनिर्व्वि[शेषं महीं×]
39. [भु×][जे] ॥ [२०×] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्र[सृत]या विश्वं रुचैक्यं व्रजे- (।) दित्याशंक्य [पु]-[रा पुरारिरभ×]-
40. [वद्भा×]लिंचणः प्रायशः। पद्माच्चोपि च[तु][र्भुजोजनि च×]तुर्व्वक्त्रोभवत्पद्म[भूः कालो खड्ग×]-
41. [मधाद्र×][म]ा च [कमलं] वी[णां] [च वाणी करे ॥ २१×]

[13] Read बद्धा.
[14] Read यथाविधि.
[15] Read नृसिंहेन्द्रा°.
[16] Read °सिंहेन्द्र°.
[17] Read °सिंहः स.
[18] Read °सिंहा°.
[19] Read गोकर्णे.
[20] Read सप्ताम्भोधींश्च.
[21] Read स्वर्णेच्छां.

[Here two verses are entirely lost through the mutilation of the stone. The following transcript of them is made from the duplicate copy with the help of other Vijayanagara inscriptions :—]

शत्रूणां वासमेते ददत इति रुषा किंतु सप्तांबुरासीन्नानाशेना[22]तुरंगत्रुटितवसुमतीधूळिका-
पाळिकाभिः । संशोष्य खेरमेतत्पति[23]निधिजलधिश्रेणिका यो विधत्ते (।) ब्रह्मांडस्व-
र्ण[24]मेरुप्रमुखनिजमहादानतोयैरमेयैः[25] । [२२×]

मद्दत्तामर्थिसार्था[:×] श्रियमिह सुचिरं भुंजतामित्यवेत्य प्राय[:×] प्रत्यूहहेतोस्तपनरथगतेरा-
लयां[26] देवतानां [।×] तत्तु दिक्जैत्रवत्यापि[27] च बिरुदपदैरंकितांस्तत्र तत्र स्तंभान् जात-
प्रतिष्ठान् व्यतनुत भुवि यो भूभृदभ्रंकषाग्रान् ॥ [२३×]

B.—North face.

L. 1. [कां]चीश्रीशैलशोणाचलकनकसभावेंकटाद्रिप्रमुख्येष्वाव[र्त्य]ावर्त्य स-
2. र्व्वे[ष्व]तनुत विधिवत् भूयसे श्रेयसे यः [।×] देवस्थानेषु तीर्थेष्वपि कनकतुलापू-
3. रुषादीनि नानादानान्येवो[प]दानैरपि सममखिलैरागमोक्तानि तानि ॥ [२४×] रोषक्षतप्रति-
4. पार्थिवदंडडशेषभुजः क्षितिरक्षणशौंडः । भाषेगे तप्पुव रायर गंडस्तोषक्ष-
5. दर्थि[षु] यो रणचंडः ॥ [२५×] राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो राजपरमेश्वरः । मू ७७ राय-
6. र गंडश्च पररायभयंकरः ॥ [२६×] हिंदुरायसुरत्राणो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । ग-
7. जौघगंडभेरुंड [इ]त्यादिबिरुदान्वितः ॥ [२७×] आलोकय महाराज जय जीवेति वा-
8. दिभिः । अंगवंगकळिंगाद्यै(:) राजभिः सेव्यते च यः ॥ [२८×] स्तुत्यौदार्य्यसुधीभिस्स
9. विजयनगरे रत्नसिं[हासनस्थ]ः (।) [क्ष्मा]पालान् क्ष[ण]रायक्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृ-
10. गादी[न्] । आ पूर्व्वाद्रेर[थ]स्त[क्षि]तिधरकटकादा च हेमाचलांता- (।) दा सेतोरर्थिसा-
11. र्थश्रियमिह[28] बहळीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिंधे ॥ [२९×] ❀ इह किल जगति निखिलकाव-
कुलाभिनं-
12. द्यमानौदार्य्यधैर्य्यशौर्य्यादिजनितयशःपूरकर्प्पूरपूरितब्रह्मांड-
13. करंडेन समरचंडेन विह[सि]तनृगनळनहुषनाभागदुंधुमार[29]मांधातृभरतभ-
14. गीरथदशरथरामादिचरितेन कृतभूसुरत्राणेन परिभूतसुरत्राणेन गजपतिगजकूट-
15. पाकलेन विदि[तनाना]कलेन वदनविजितांभोजेन भोजेनापरेण काव्यनांटका[30]लंकारमर्म्म-
16. ज्ञे[न] धर्म्मज्ञेन प्रतिवर्षप्रवर्त्ति[त]कनकवसंतमहोत[वे]नसवेन[31] कृतार्थितविप्रसार्थे-
17. [न] सार्थेन निखिलनृपतिमूर्द्धन्येन धन्येन नागांबिकानरसनृपनंदनेन नि-
18. खिलहृदयानंदनेन समरमुखविजयेन विजयेन दिशां विजय-
19. नगरे सिंहासनमारुह्य शासता सकलां भुवं भुजविजितसांपराये-
20. ण कृष्णदेवमहारायेण भुवनभरणसाव[ध]ानाय श्रीविरूपा-
21. क्षाभिधानाय वितीर्ण[32]विनतजनहेमकूटाय हेमकूटायत-
22. नशालिने शूलिने मधुरफलपूपादिहृद्याय नैवेद्याय सिंगेनायक-
23. नहळ्ळीति विख्यातनामा चतुस्सोमाभिरामो ग्रामो दत्तो वित्तोपकारिणा

[22] Read °राशीन्नानासेना°.
[23] Read खेरमेतत्पति°.
[24] Read ब्रह्माण्डस्वर्ण°.
[25] Read °मेयैः.
[26] Read °लयं.
[27] Read तत्त[illegible]
[28] Read °र्थश्रियमिह.
[29] Read °धुन्धुमार°.
[30] Read °नाटका°.
[31] Read °महोत्सवेनसवेन.
[32] Read विवीर्ण°.

L. 24. रवितनयानुकारिणा रंगमंडपोपि विरचितस्तस्यैव देवस्य तेनैव प्रकटित-
25. नरजनुषा प्रसूनध[नु]षा ॥ तदिदमवनीवनीपकविनुतधरायस्य
26. कृष्णरायस्य । शासनमतिबलशासनतरुकरदानस्य [सापद]नस्य ॥ [३०×] ❀ ॥
27. ❀ स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्ष १४३० संदु
28. मेले नडव शुक्लसंवत्सरद माघ शु १४लु श्रीमन्महाराजा-
29. धिराजराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरप्रतापश्रीवीरकृष्णरायमहा-
30. रायरु पट्टाभिषेकोत्सवपुण्यकालदलु श्रीविरूपा-
31. क्षदेवर अमृतपडिनइवे[द्येक्के][33] सिंगिनायकनहक्कियनु स-
32. मर्प्पिसि देवर संमुखद महारंगमंटपवनु आ मुंद-
33. ण गोपुरवनु कट्टिसि आ मुंदणे हिरिय गोपुरवनु
34. जीर्णोद्धारवनु माडिसि श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवरिगे नव-
35. रत्नखचितवाद सुवर्णकमलवनु नागाभरणवनु
36. समर्प्पिसिदरु [।×] देवर नै[वे]द्य आरो[ग]णे माडुवदके सम-
37. र्प्पिस्त[34] चिन्नद हरिवाण १ आरतिहलगे २ वेळेय
38. आरति २४ इष्टनु समर्प्पिसिदरु ॥ यी धर्मके
39. तप्पिदवरुगळु गोहत्य[।×]ब्रह्महत्यादिमहा-
40. पातकगळ मा[डिद] पापक्के होगलुळ्ळवरु [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

A. Sanskrit portion.

(*This is an edict of*) the illustrious Kṛishṇadevarâya.

Hail! Let there be prosperity!

(*Verse* 1.) Adoration to Śambhu (*Śiva*), who is adorned, as with a *châmara*, with the moon that kisses his lofty head, and who is the principal pillar at the building of the city of the three worlds![35]

(2.) May that lustre (*Gaṇeśa*),—which dispels the darkness of obstacles, and which, though (*it has the head of*) an elephant (*gaja*), was born from the mountain-daughter (*Agajâ*), and is worshipped even by Hari (*Vishṇu*),— produce happiness![36]

(3.) There was produced, like fresh butter, from the great ocean of milk, when it was churned by the gods, the luminary which dispels darkness (*i.e.*, the moon).

(4.) The son of this (*moon*) was Budha, whose name (*was made*) true to its meaning[37] by his unequalled austerities. In consequence of his pious deeds (*he obtained a son*), Purûravas. (*The son*) of him, who destroyed the life (*âyus*) of his enemies by

[33] Read °नैवेद्यक्के.

[34] Read समर्पिसिद.

[35] An easier reading would be त्रैलोक्यनगरालम्बमूलस्तम्भाय, 'the principal pillar of support of the city of the three worlds.' Compare आलम्बस्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवनभवनस्य, 'the single pillar of support of the house of the three worlds,' *ante*, p. 310, verse 26.

[36] On the *virodhâbhâsa* between *gaja* and *agajâ*, see *Journal, Bombay Br. R. As. S.*, vol. XII, p. 372, note 2. There is also a play on the word *hari*, which signifies 'Vishṇu,' and at the same time 'the lion,' which is considered as the natural enemy of the elephant.

[37] Budha means 'a wise man' or 'a god.'

the strength of his arm, was Âyus. His (*son*) was Nahusha. His (*son*) was Yayâti, who was fierce in battle (*and*) famed on earth. (*The son*) of this husband of the glorious Devayânî was Turvasu, who resembled the Vasus.

(*V.* 5.) In his race shone king Timma, whose wife was Devakî, (*and*) who was famous among the princes of Tuḷuva, just as Kṛishṇa (*shone*) in the race of Yadu.

(6.) From him was born king Îśvara, whose wife was Bukkamâ (*and*) who was the fearless and virtuous crest-jewel[38] of kings.

(7.) Oh wonder! Though (*like* Kṛishṇa) he was the son of the glorious Devakî, though (*like* Vishṇu) he had lotus eyes, though he acquired tribute (*bali*) by his valour which was able to subdue the three worlds, (*just as* Vishṇu *in his* Vâmanâvatâra *acquired the three worlds from* Bali *by his three steps*), and though he bore (*the auspicious marks of*) the conch and the discus in his hand,—he became still more famous by the name of Îśvara, as he obtained prosperity (*bhûti*), universal worship, and the daughter of a king, (*just as the god* Îśvara *wears ashes* [bhûti], *is universally worshipped, and is the husband of the daughter of the mountain*).

(8.) Like another sun, who always dwelt on earth, he,— who was continually rising, who was surrounded by poets and wise men, who never fled from war (*and*) who was highly famed from the eastern to the western ocean (*and*) from (*Râma's*) Bridge to the golden mountain (*Meru*),—killed the enemies, (*as the sun conquers*) the Mandehas,[39] and shone, surpassing the trees of heaven by his gifts.

(9.) From this lovely son of Devakî was born king Narasa, just as Kâma from (*Kṛishṇa*) the son of Devakî.

(10.) Resplendent was he, who quickly bridged the Kâverî,[40] (*though*) it consisted of a rapid current of copious water, crossed over it, straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy, brought his kingdom and (*the city of*) Śrîraṅgapaṭṭaṇa[41] under his power and set up a pillar of fame,—his heroic deeds being praised in the three worlds, (*which appeared to be*) the palace (*of his glory*).

(11.) Having conquered the Chera, the Choḷa, the proud Pâṇḍya (*who was*) the lord of Madhurâ, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati king and others, he, who was exceedingly famed from the banks of the Gaṅgâ to Laṅkâ and from the slopes of the eastern to those of the western mountain, spread his command like a garland on the heads of kings.

(12.) At Râmeśvara[42] and every other shrine on earth which abounds in sacredness, he, with joyful heart, surrounded by wise men, repeatedly performed the sixteen kinds of gifts according to rule, (*thus*) making superfluous (*his previously acquired*) great fame, which was sung by the inhabitants of the three worlds.

[38] With reference to *mauliratna* in its literal sense, *atrâsa* and *aguṇabhraṁśa* have to be taken in the second meanings 'flawless' and 'not losing its string.'

[39] 'A class of terrific Râkshasas, who were hostile to the sun and endeavoured to devour him;' Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*. According to Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, the sun has the surname Mandeha-mardana, 'the destroyer of the Mandehas.'

[40] Śrîraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, *vulgo* Seringapatam, which, later on, became the capital of the Maisûr Odeyars and of Tîpû, is situated on an island of the Kâverî.

[41] Literally, '(*that compound ending in*) *paṭṭaṇa*, the first member of which is *Śrîraṅga*.' On similar expressions, see Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 166, note 6.

[42] This is the celebrated place of pilgrimage on an island, 33 miles east of Râmnâd. According to Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. lvii, note), another Râmeśvara-tîrtha is situated on an island near the junction of the Tuṅgâ and Bhadrâ rivers. Three other Râmeśvaras are noticed by Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, pp. 38, 41, 125.

(*Vv.* 13 *and* 14.) Just as Râma and Lakshmaṇa (*were born*) to Daśaratha by his queens Kausalyâ and the glorious Sumitrâ, (*thus*) two brave (*but*) modest sons, prince Vîra-Nṛisiṁha and prince Kṛishṇarâya, were born to king Nṛisiṁha by his queens Tippâjî and Nâgalâ (*respectively*).

(15.) The illustrious Vîra-Nârasiṁha,—seated on a jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, surpassing in fame (*and*) wisdom Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha and (*all*) other (*kings*) on earth, being voluntarily praised by the Brâhmaṇas (*and*) winning all hearts,—ruled the kingdom from (*Râma's*) Bridge to (*Mount*) Sumeru and from the mountain of the east to the western mountain.

(16.) He performed various gifts at the Golden Hall,[43] at the shrine of the holy Virûpâkshadeva,[44] at the town of the holy lord of Kâḷahasti,[45] on Veṅkaṭâdri,[46] at Kâñchî, at Śrîśaila,[47] at Śoṇaśaila,[48] at the sacred (*city of*) Harihara,[49] at Ahobala,[50] at Saṁgama,[51] at Śrîraṅga,[52] at Kumbhaghoṇa,[53] at the sinless *tîrtha* of Mahânandi[54] (*and*) at Nivṛitti.[55]

(17.) The streams of water (*poured out*) at copious great gifts of various kinds, which he performed at Gokarṇa,[56] at Râma's Bridge, and at all other sacred places in the world, frustrated the eagerness of (*Indra*) the bearer of the thunderbolt, who was ardently rising to clip the wings[57] of the mountains, which were immersed in the ocean, that was being dried up by the dust of the hoofs of the troops of his prancing horses.

(18.) He performed (*the gifts of*) a mundane egg, a wheel of the universe, a pot containing the (*five*) elements, a jewelled cow, the seven oceans, a tree and a creeper of paradise, a celestial cow of gold, an earth of gold, a horse-chariot of gold, the weight of a man (*in gold*), a thousand cows, a horse of gold, a (*golden vessel called*) *hemagarbha*, an elephant-car of gold, and five ploughs.[58]

[43] *Kanaka-sadas* is a synonym of *Kanaka-sabhâ*, 'the Golden Hall,' at the temple of Chidambaram in the South Arcot district.

[44] This old name of the Pampâpati temple occurs also in lines 20, 30 and 34 of the north face of this inscription.

[45] This town is now the residence of a Zamîndâr in the North Arcot district.

[46] Veṅkaṭâdri, 'the hill of Veṅkaṭa,' is the name of the holy mountain (*Tirumalai*) near Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

[47] In the Karṇûl district.

[48] Śoṇaśaila or Śoṇâchala, 'the red mountain,' is the hill of Tiruvaṇṇâmalai in the South Arcot district.

[49] This town is situated in the Maisûr territory on the frontier of Dhârwâḍ.

[50] In the Karṇûl district.

[51] H. Kṛishṇa Śâstrî, my Kanarese assistant, informs me, that Saṁgama-tîrtha is commonly used as a designation of Râmeśvara.

[52] This is the great island temple near Trichinopoly.

[53] In the Tanjore district.

[54] In the Karṇûl district.

[55] A similar list of holy places is found in a copper-plate grant from Śrîperumbudûr (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 83, note 4), which is now in the Madras Museum:—

गोकर्णसंगमनिवृत्तिसुवर्णसंघशोणाद्रिपर्वतविरिञ्चिपुरेषु काञ्चाम् ।

श्रीकालहस्तिनगरेपि च कुम्भघोणे दानानि षोडश बहूनि कृतानि येन ॥

Here *Suvarṇasaṁgha* refers to the Golden Hall at Chidambaram; Viriñchipura is in the North Arcot district; the remaining localities are mentioned in verses 16 and 17 of the text.

[56] In the North Kanara district.

[57] Following a suggestion of Paṇḍit Lakshmaṇâchârya of Bangalore, I separate *paksha-chhidâ-udyattara-Kuliśadhara-utkaṇṭhitâ*. Indra's eagerness was frustrated, as the water poured out at the king's donations refilled the ocean, which the dust of his army had dried up, and thus saved the mountains from persecution.

[58] The above list of the sixteen kinds of gifts (*shoḍaśa dânâni*, verse 12 and note 55) agrees with that given in the *Matsyapurâṇa*, as quoted in Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, p. 43, and in Hemâdri's *Dânakhaṇḍa*, p. 166f. of the Calcutta edition.

(*Vv.* 19 *and* 20.) When, having ruled his great kingdom without obstacles, this Indra of the earth, who was famed for virtue, had gone to heaven, as if it were in order to rule heaven (*too*), the illustrious king Kṛishṇarâya, whose valour was irresistible, bore the earth on his arm like a bracelet of jewels.

(21.) It was probably through fear, lest everything should assume an identity of lustre from his fame, which was spread everywhere, that, of old, Śiva adopted a (*third*) eye on his forehead (*as a distinguishing mark*), Vishṇu four arms, Brahman four faces, Kâlî a sword, Ramâ a lotus, and Vâṇî a lute in her hand.

(22.) Was it through anger, because they gave refuge to his enemies, that he dried up the seven oceans with the clouds of the dust of the earth, which was split by the horses of his numerous armies, and of his own accord created in their stead masses of oceans by the immeasurable waters (*poured out*) at his great gifts, which consisted of a mundane egg, a Meru of gold, &c.?

(23.) It was probably in order to obstruct the path of the chariot of the sun in the sky, with the view that the crowds of suppliants should enjoy as long as possible the riches given by him, that this lord of the earth set up in every part of the earth firmly fixed pillars, which were marked with (*an account of*) his expeditions for conquering each quarter and with (*his*) surnames (*biruda*), and the tops of which touched the clouds.

(24.) Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, he performed according to rule those various gifts which are prescribed in the holy books, *viz.*, the weight of a man in gold, &c., together with all minor gifts, at Kâñchî, at Śrîśaila, at Śoṇâchala, at the Golden Hall, on Veṅkaṭâdri[59] and at all other temples and bathing-places.

(25 to 27.) Some of his surnames (*biruda*) were :—The angry punisher of rival kings; he whose arms resemble (*the coils of the serpent*) Śesha; he who is versed in protecting the earth;[60] the destroyer of those kings who break their word;[61] he who satisfies suppliants; he who is fierce in war; the king of kings and the supreme lord of kings; the destroyer of the three kings (*of the South*);[62] he who terrifies hostile kings; the *Sulṭân* among Hindû kings; he who crushes the wicked like tigers; and the double-headed eagle which splits the temples of troops of elephants![63]

(28.) He is served by the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and other kings, who speak thus :—"Look (*upon me*), Oh great king! Be victorious! Live (*long*)!"

(29.) Seated on a jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, king Kṛishṇarâya, whose liberality was worthy to be praised by the learned, having surpassed Nṛiga and other kings in wisdom, and having bestowed abundant riches on all suppliants on earth, was resplendent with fame from the eastern mountain to the slopes of the mountain of the west and from the mountain of gold (*Meru*) to (*Râma's*) Bridge.

He, who filled the world, as a box with camphor, with the flood of his fame, which arose from liberality, firmness, valour and other (*virtues*), that were being praised by the crowd of all poets in this world; who was fierce in battle; who surpassed the

[59] On these localities, see the notes on verse 16.

[60] Compare जगत्ताषशौण्डः in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *śauṁḍuḍu*.

[61] This *biruda* is of frequent occurrence in Tamil inscriptions; see Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, pp. 80, 104, 111, 120, 123, 131, 132 (note 7) and 139.

[62] *Viz.*, the Chera, Chola and Pâṇḍya; see *ibid.*, p. 111, note 3.

[63] With *Gajaughagaṇḍabheruṇḍa* compare the biruda *Râyagajagaṇḍabheruṇḍa* on certain coins of Devarâya (*ibid.*, p. 162) and *Arîbhagaṇḍabheruṇḍa* in a grant of Veṅkaṭa II. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 131, plate iva, line 10).

deeds of Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha, Nâbhâga, Dhundhumâra, Mândhâtṛi, Bharata, Bhagîratha, Daśaratha, Râma and other (*kings*); who protected Brâhmaṇas; who subdued *Sultâns*; who was (*like*) the fever to the elephants of the Gajapati (*king*); who knew many arts; whose face surpassed the lotus; who, (*like*) a second Bhoja, knew the mysteries of poetry, of the drama and of rhetoric; who knew the law; who, every year, performed a sacrifice to (*Kâma*) the lord of the golden festival of spring;[64] who fulfilled the desires of the crowd of Brâhmaṇas; who was rich; who was the chief of all princes; who was fortunate; who was the son of Nâgâmbikâ[65] and of king Narasa; who delighted all hearts; who was victorious at the head of battles; who conquered (*all*) quarters; who, having ascended the throne at Vijayanagara, was ruling the whole earth; who won battles by (*the strength of*) his arm:—Kṛishṇadeva-mahârâya gave a village, which was famed by the name of Siṅgenâyakanahaḷḷi and which was adorned with its four boundaries, for (*providing*) pleasant oblations (*naivedya*), (*consisting of*) sweet fruits, cakes, &c., to Śûlin (*Śiva*), called the holy Virûpâksha, to whom pious people have presented heaps of gold, who abides on the Hemakûṭa,[66] and who is diligent in protecting the world. The same (*king*), who assisted (*others*) with his wealth like (*Karṇa*) the son of the sun, and who was Kâma manifest in a human birth, built an assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇḍapa*) (*for the use*) of the same god.

(*Verse* 30.) This is the edict of the heroic Kṛishṇarâya, whose path on earth was praised by the beggars of the earth, and the gifts of whose hand surpassed (*those of*) the tree of Indra.[67]

B. Kanarese portion.

Hail! On the 14th day of the bright half (*of the month*) of Mâgha of the Śuklasaṁvatsara, which was current, after the 1430th year of the illustrious, victorious and prosperous Śâlivâhana-Śaka had passed, the illustrious *mahârâjâdhirâja* and *râjaparameśvara*, the illustrious Vîrapratâpa,[68] the illustrious Vîra-Kṛishṇarâya-mahârâya, gave, at the auspicious time of the festival of his coronation (*paṭṭâbhisheka*), for (*providing*) daily oblations of food (*amṛita-paḍi-naivedya*), to the holy Virûpâkshadeva (*the village of*) Siṅginâyakanahaḷḷi, caused to be built in front of the shrine a large assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇṭapa*) and a *gopura* before it, caused to be repaired the great *gopura* in front of that, and gave to the holy Virûpâkshadeva a golden lotus, set with the nine (*kinds of*) gems, and a snake ornament (*nâgâbharaṇa*). For eating[69] the

[64] The expression *kanaka-vasanta-mahotsava* seems to refer to the custom, which is observed at the *Holî* or spring-festival, of throwing yellow or red powder and squirting coloured water at each other. Compare *Ratnâvalî*, act I, verses 2 and 3.

[65] In verse 13, this queen was called Nâgalâ.

[66] This must have been the name of the rock, at the foot of which the Pampâpati temple is built. Compare Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras edition, vol. II, p. 259, and *Journal, Bombay Br. R. As. S.*, vol. XII, p. 375:—"The rampart that encompasses it (*viz.*, Vijayanagara) is Hemakûṭa; the most auspicious Tuṅgabhadrâ is the moat that surrounds it; the guardian of it is visibly the god Śrî-Virûpâkshadeva."

[67] The following explanation of the two difficult compounds, which are contained in this verse, was, for the most part, suggested to me by Paṇḍit Lakshmaṇâchârya of Bangalore:— अवन्यां ये वनीपका याचकास्तैर्विनुतः स्तुती धरायामयी गमनं यस्य। बलशासनखेन्द्रस्य तरुं कल्पवृक्षमतिक्रान्तानि करदानानि सहस्रदानानि यस्य ॥

[68] This surname was borne by the kings of both the first and the second dynasties; see the Index of Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 182.

[69] *Ârôgaṇê mâḍu*, 'to take a meal, to eat food' Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*.

oblations (*naivedya*), he gave to the god—1 golden vessel, 2 drums (*to be used*) during the ceremony of waving lamps, (*and*) 24 silver lamps.[70] Those who injure this meritorious gift (*dharma*), shall incur the sin (*of those*) who have committed the slaughter of a cow, the murder of a Brâhmaṇa, and the other great crimes.

XLIII.—NEW JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The first eighteen among the following inscriptions form part of the most valuable discoveries,[1] made by Dr. A. Führer in the Kaṅkâlî Tîla at Mathurâ during the working season of 1890, and I edit them according to the excellent impressions[2] which he has kindly forwarded to me. I add also the five cognate inscriptions found by Dr. Burgess and originally published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. II, pp. 141ff., and vol. III, pp. 233ff., and five small unpublished fragments, found by Dr. Führer in 1889. All of them, whether bearing kings' names and dates or not, clearly belong to the Indo-Skythic period, or—if the era of Kanishka and his successors is identified with the Śaka era—to the first and second centuries A.D. This is evident from the type of their characters and of their language, which closely agrees with that of the documents found near the same place by Sir A. Cunningham, Mr. Growse, and Dr. Burgess. The general characteristics of the alphabet, its rather clumsy look, which is owing to its squat and square letters and to the thickness of the single strokes, and its otherwise strong resemblance to the writing in the inscriptions of the Śuṅga and Andhra periods, strike the most superficial observer. But it possesses another peculiarity, which consists in the occurrence of a number of cursive and modern-looking forms side by side with archaic ones, which, I think, deserves special mention, since it possesses considerable interest for Indian palæography. This peculiarity is particularly noticeable in the following ten signs. Among the vowels, the initial *a* looks mostly like that of the Andhra inscriptions; but sometimes it shows cursive forms. Thus in *aryya* (No. VII*c*, l. 1) and in *asya* (Sir A. Cunningham's No. 8, l. 5)[3] the left limb is represented by a wavy line, drawn by a single stroke, which is not even attached to the vertical on the right; again in *Aya-Balatratasya* (No. V*B*, l. 1), it consists of a curved stroke on the left which is connected with the right hand vertical by a short horizontal line: this form is very common in the *Kâlsî* version of Aśoka's edicts, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Further, the medial *â* is expressed sometimes, as in Aśoka's edicts, by a short horizontal stroke, more frequently by a curve or by a straight line, rising upwards towards the right, and sometimes by an almost vertical downward stroke, resembling the form found in the inscriptions of the seventh and later centuries. All these

[70] *Ârati* or *ârti* is a *tadbhava* from the Sanskrit *ârâtrika*, 'a lamp waved before an idol.'

[1] See my letter in the *Academy* of 19th April 1890, p. 270.

[2] The total of the inscriptions, forwarded to me by Dr. Führer, is twenty. One, a very small fragment, I am unable to make out. Another I omit, because it is the already known inscription of the reign of the son of Kshatrapa Rajubula, published by Sir A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. XX, p. 49, and plate v, No. 4. The new impressions give less than the earlier facsimile, and seem to indicate that the stone has suffered considerably during late years.

[3] The collection referred to is that in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. III, plates xiii—xv.

varieties occasionally occur in one and the same document; compare, *e. g.*, *nâgendrasya* (No. XVIII, l. 2), *mâthurâṇaṁ* (*ibid.*, l. 3), *śailâlakânaṁ* (l. 4) and *mâtâ°* (l. 6). The medial *i* has likewise three forms, one of which is a well-developed semicircle, while the second, a cursive one, looks very much like the medial *e*, and in the third the tail of the curve is drawn down at the back of the consonant just as in the Gupta *i*; all three forms occur in the word *divase* and in its abbreviation *di*. The initial *u* consists usually of an angle open to the right, as is invariably the case in the older inscriptions; but in *uchchenâgarasyâ°* (No. XIII) it resembles a *da* with a well-developed nail-head at the top. The same inscription shows also in the word *Kumâranandi* a medial *u*, which exactly agrees with the modern Devanâgarî form. Less perfect examples in the same syllable occur in other inscriptions, while usually, except in *tu*[4] and *gu*, where an upward curve on the right side of the consonant is used, the vowel is expressed simply by a straight stroke. The medial *ṛi* has again three forms, being expressed (1) by the curved line, turning to the left, which usually denotes the subscript *ra*,[5] *e.g.*, in *gṛi* for *grîshma* (No. IV*A*, l. 1) and in *Śrîgṛihâto* (No. III*B*, l. 2); (2) very frequently by a straight line, slanting sharply from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards the left, *e.g.*, in *gṛi* for *grîshma* (No. II*A*, l. 1), and in *Aryya-Mâtṛidinaḥ* (No. III*A*, l. 3-4); (3) by the curve open to the right, which is constantly used in the Gupta and the later northern alphabets, *e.g.*, in *gṛi* for *grîshma* (No. XIII, l. 1).[6] Among the consonants the forms of *ka*, *ksha*, *ṇa*, *na* and *sa* deserve particular attention. *Ka* is usually expressed by a cross with a *serif* at the top, but occasionally it has the Gupta form with a curved line instead of a straight cross-bar and with a *serif* or a nail-head at the top; see, *e.g.*, *Kumâranandi* (No. XIII). The lower portion of *ksha* is mostly made square, but in *kshuṇe* (No. XIII) and in *bhikshusya* (Cunningham, No. 12) the left side is round. *Ṇa* is usually formed of two small curves at the top, springing from a short vertical stroke, the lower end of which stands on the middle of a curved base line or on the apex of an angle formed by two straight lines. Sometimes, however, we find archaic forms agreeing in part with the older ones of the Aśoka edicts and of the earlier Andhra inscriptions. Thus in some cases, *e.g.*, in *śramaṇa°* (No. XVII, l. 1) and *toraṇaṁ* (*ibid.*, l. 2), the base line is made perfectly straight, while, *e.g.*, in *vâraṇato* (No. XI*B*, l. 1), the ancient straight top line appears instead of the two curves. On the other hand, we meet also with a cursive form, a further development of the usual one, which somewhat resembles our letter *x* and evidently has been made with two strokes; see, *e.g.*, *gaṇato* (No. VII*A*, l. 1) and *kshuṇe* (No. XIII). As regards the dental *na*, it usually consists of a thick straight base line with a short vertical stroke above its centre which bears at the top a serif, or a nail-head. Sometimes also, as in the difficult word *hanagṛisya* (No. IX, l. 1), *Haginaṁdia* (*ibid.*, l. 2), the serif is wanting and the vertical stroke longer, so that the letter does not differ from the form used in Aśoka's edicts. The letter *sa*, finally, has nearly throughout the form used in the Andhra and other old inscriptions, but in No. V the left-hand limb is invariably converted into a loop, and the

[4] The *tu* with the upward curve occurs also in the Aśoka edicts, especially in the Kâlsî version, and has there been misread as *sa*.

[5] This form has remained in many southern alphabets.

[6] I have to add that in a former article, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. I, p. 176f., I have read erroneously *gra* instead of *gṛi*. The three forms in the new inscriptions leave no doubt that *gṛi* is intended. *Gṛi* is put for *gri*, which also occurs not unfrequently, *e.g.*, in Nos. XX and XXII, just as *priyasya* (No. XII, l. 1) stands for *priyasya*. Instead of *śrîgṛihâto* I have given erroneously (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. II, p. 239) *śrîguhato*.

letter is almost exactly like the Gupta *sa*. The alphabet of these Indo-Skythic inscriptions may therefore be called a transitional one, which was modified through the influence of the current hand, used in every-day life, the latter being almost identical with the so-called Gupta characters. I may add that cursive forms are met with even among the numeral signs. Thus, in No. VIII, the left-hand limb of the figure 4, which usually is square, has been made round, and the cross-bar consists of a curved stroke. In the same inscription the figure, probably to be read as 40, looks exactly like a Roman V, as the whole lower portion of the two strokes, which has been preserved in the crosslike forms of the same sign on Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 11, 12 and 13,[7] has been omitted.

Some peculiarities in the spelling, the frequent use of single consonants for double ones, the use of short *i* and *u* for long *î* and *û*, and the occasional omission of the long *â* (see, *e.g.*, *hemaṁtamase* (No. V), *maharajasya* and *masa* (No. IX*A*), agree with the usage prevailing partly in all, partly in some, versions of Aśoka's edicts and of other ancient inscriptions. They make it difficult to decide, whether some of the curious forms, to be discussed below, are due to negligence in spelling or to grammatical irregularities.

The language of these inscriptions shows the mixed dialect, consisting partly of Prakrit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms, as clearly as the formerly discovered documents. A fixed principle, according to which the mixture has been made, so far as I can see, is not discoverable. All one can say in this respect is that, in certain inflexions and words, the Sanskrit forms are more common than in others, and that in others the Prakrit or hybrid forms prevail. Thus the genitive termination *sya* is much more frequently found after *a* and *i* stems than the Prakrit *sa* which stands for *ssa*. Nevertheless the latter is not entirely wanting. It occurs four times in No. VI *A*, *B*, No. VII *B*, l. 2, and perhaps once in No. XIV*B*, l. 2. Pure Sanskrit are also the only two verbal forms which occur,—the imperatives *bhavatu* (No. XVIII, ll. 7, 8) and *prîyatâm* (No. VIII, l. 2). The latter is so much the more remarkable, as in nearly all other cases the terminations in *âm* are either changed to *aṁ* or are otherwise mutilated. Thus we have in the genitive plural, with one exception—*sarvvasatvânâṁ* (No. XXI, l. 6), invariably *naṁ*, *e.g.*, *śiśîninaṁ* (No. II*C*, l. 1), *arahaṁtânaṁ* (No. XVI, l. 1), *mâthurâṇaṁ*, *etc.* (No. XVIII, l. 3 ff.). Similarly the Sanskrit locatives *asyâm*, *etasyâm* and *pûrvvâyâm* remain each once or twice (No. III*A*, l. 1, No. VII*A*, l. 1, No. VIII, l. 1) unchanged; in all other cases the hybrid or mutilated forms *asyaṁ*, *asyâ* or *asya* and *etasyaṁ*, *etasyâ*, *etasya* or *etasa* are used. In the nominative cases the Prakrit forms prevail. The nominative singular of the *a*-stems ends always in *o*, except in the one word *Mâtṛidinaḥ* (No. III*A*, l. 4), which is a very curious hybrid form, the first part *mâtṛi* being Sanskrit and the second Prakrit. The singular nominative of *i*-stems mostly loses the Visarga, *e. g.*, in *Kumârabhaṭi*[8] (No. VII*B*, l. 2), but it is preserved in *Ṛishabhaśrîḥ* (No. VIII, l. 2). The same inscription furnishes also a solitary example of a Sanskrit

[7] I omit Sir A. Cunningham's No. 8 from this enumeration, because I believe that its date is really *saṁvatsare* 70 (+) 4, not 40 (+) 4. The inscription belongs to the reign of Vâsudeva, whose other dates range from Samvat 80 (see No. XXIV) to 98, while Huvishka certainly ruled from Samvat 39 to 48. The oldest known form of the figure 70 consists of a vertical line, to which two short horizontal strokes are attached, one on the right and one on the left side. Made carelessly, this would readily become a cross, somewhat resembling the Roman X.

[8] This may stand for °*bhatî*.

nominative formed from a consonantal stem, *bhagavân*, while its genitive *bhagavato* (No. II*C*, l. 2) and *arahaṁta*, the only other originally consonantal stem which occurs, show Prakrit forms. The nominative plural drops its Visarga as in Prakrit, as in *Sîhâ* (No. IV*A*, l. 2). The other cases show either Prakrit or hybrid terminations. In the singular instrumental of the feminines in *î*[9] and *â* the termination is *ye*, *e.g.*, in *sukhitâye*, *kuṭuṁbiniye* (No. VI), and there is in the same inscription one Pali form, *dhitara* (*i. e.*, *dhîtarâ*) for *duhitrâ* (No. VI*A*).

The masculine *a*-stems added *eṇa*, as in No. XVII, l. 4, we have *śaśureṇa*. The dative of the *â*-stems takes *ye* in *arahaṁtapûjâye*, and *ya* (as in Pali) in *mahâbhogatâya* (No. VIII, l. 2). The difference is probably merely graphic, because *ya* is invariably pronounced *yĕ*, and the stress, which lies on the preceding *tâ*, makes the quantity of the following syllable indistinct. In *hitasukhâ* (No. XXI, l. 6) we have possibly a contracted form for *hitasukhâa*. The ablative of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems ends sometimes in *â*, *e.g.*, always in the word *nirvvarttanâ* (No. III*A*, l. 4), but more usually in *âto*, *e.g.*, in *gaṇâto* (No. I*A*, l. 1) and *kulâto* (*ibid.*), which termination is a precursor of the Jaina Prakrit and Mahârâshṭrî *âo* and of the Śaurasenî *âdo* or *âdu*. With respect to the variants *gaṇato* (No. V*B*, l. 1) and *kulato* (*ibid.*) it is difficult to be positive. They may stand for Sanskrit *gaṇataḥ*, *kulataḥ* or, as the long *â* is sometimes omitted, for *kulâto*. The feminine *â* and *î*-stems take *to* and the latter invariably shorten their vowel, as in *Uchenâgarito*[10] *śâkhâto* (No. I*A*, l. 2), and thus agree with those of the Jaina Prakrit, where we find *kaṇṇâto* and *devîto*. As regards the genitives not yet noticed, the feminines in *â*, *î* and *û* form *âye* or *aye*, *îye* or *iye* and *ûye* or *uye*; compare, *e. g.*, *Khuḍâye* (No. I*A*, l. 2), *Saṅgamikaye* (No. II*C*, l. 1), *Vasulaye* (No. II*D*, l. 1), *dharmapatniye* (No. III*C*, l. 1), *kuṭumbinîye* (No. VIII, l. 2), *vadhûye* (No. XI*A*, l. 3) and *vadhuye* (No. X). Three times, in *kuṁṭûbinîya* (No. V*B*, l. 2), *Saṅgamikaya* and *śiśiniya* (No. XII) we have the termination *ya*, which in my opinion was likewise pronounced *yĕ* or *ye*. The genitive of the representatives of Sanskrit *duhitṛi*, *dhîtu* or *dhitu*, agrees with the Pali form, and so does *mâtu* (No. II*C*, l. 2). A remarkable mutilated Sanskrit form is *râjña* (Cunningham, No. 20, l. 2), and very peculiar is the genitive of the male name *Haginaṁdia* (No. IX*B*). The last sign is very distinct; else one would be tempted to conjecture *Hāginaṁdisya*. *Tasya* (No. VII*B*, l. 2) must stand for *tasyâḥ*, as it refers to the feminine *Kumarami*[*trâ*], compare *etasya* for *etasyâṁ*. The locative of the masculines and neuters in *a* shows *e* as in Sanskrit and in most Prakrits; that of the feminine ends in *yâṁ*, *yaṁ*, *yâ* or *ya*, *e.g.*, *pûrvvâyâṁ* (No. I*A*, l. 1), *pûrvvâya* (No. IV*A*, l. 1), *śâkhâyâ* (No. VIII, l. 1), *Harîtamâlakaḍhiya* (No. IX*B*). Sir A. Cuninngham' Nos. 2, 3, 7, 11 show the Jaina Prakrit and Mahârâshṭrî forms *pûrvvâye* or *pûrvvaye*. The two locatives of the pronoun *idaṁ*, *asmi* and *asma* (No. V*A*, l. 1, No. VI, No. XIII, and No. XXV), are corruptions of Sanskrit *asmin*. The few pure Sanskrit forms have been noted above. In the plural, which also does duty for the dual, none but Pali, Jaina Prakrit or hybrid forms occur. The nominatives have already been mentioned. Instances of the instrumental are *mâtâpitihi* (No. XVII, l. 3) and *putrehi Nandibala-pramukhehi dârakehi* (No. XVIII, ll. 5-6). Among the genitives, the Jaina Prakrit form *Aryya-Veriyâṇa* (No. VIII, l. 1), among the hybrid forms *teshaṁ* (No. XVIII, l. 5) and *mâtâpitṛiṇaṁ* (*ibid.* l. 6) deserve to be mentioned in addition to the Pali forms

[9] Mostly spelt *i*.

[10] The short *i* may be merely graphic.

enumerated above. With respect to the use of the cases it must be noted that the nominative not rarely takes the place of the crude form, and that the crude form occasionally takes the place of an inflected form. Instances of the former kind are found in [*grá*]*miko Jayanágasya* (No. XI*B*, l. 3), *śisho Sadhisya* (No. V*B*, l. 1), *śraddhacharo váchakasya Aryyadatasya* (No. IV*A*, l. 2); further in *gaṇisya Aryya-Buddhiśirisya śisho váchako Aryya-Sandhikasya* (No. XIX, l. 2),[11] °*Hastahastisya śishyo gaṇisya Aryya-Mághahastisya śraddhacharo váchakasya Aryya-Devasya* (No. XXI, ll. 4-6). Two perfectly certain instances of the second irregularity occur in *brihaṁta* (?) *váchaka cha gaṇina cha Ja..mitrasya* (No. IV*A*, l. 1) and *Vâdhara . . vadhú Haggudevasya dharmmapatniye Mittráye* (IV*B*, l. 1). The omission of the case terminations in words which qualify others standing in the same case is common, as Professor von Roth has shown,[12] in the *Ṛigveda*. It occurs also not rarely in Pâṇini's *Sûtras*, is very frequent in the Northern Buddhist works, and is a fixed principle in the modern Indian vernaculars as well in other languages. The use of the nominative instead of the crude form is not known to me from other Indian dialects than that of the Northern Buddhists; but in Zend it is not uncommon. A third syntactical anomaly in our inscriptions is the violation of the rules of concord, in phrases like *váchako Aryya-Síhá* (No. IV*A*, l. 2), *gaṇina cha Ja..mitrasya* (*ibid.*, l. 1), *śiśininaṁ Aryya-Saṅgamikaye* (No. II*C*, l. 1), *arahaṁtánaṁ Vadhamânasya* (No. XVI, l. 1), where a noun in the plural has to be construed with another in the singular. The explanation is, of course, that the plural is a *pluralis majestatis*, and that the terms quoted must be taken in the sense of the "great" or "venerable" *gaṇin*, "the great or venerable female pupil" and "the venerable *arhat*".

With respect to the words, especially the nominal bases, it must be admitted that the pure Sanskrit forms are mostly as numerous as, and in some documents much more numerous than, the Prakrit and hybrid formations. Thus in No. XVIII, there are only three words, *stâna* for *sthâna*, *pratishṭâpita* for *pratishṭhâpita*, and perhaps *chândaká* for *chândraká* showing the influence of the Prakrit, though the great majority of the terminations are Prakritic. Again, in No. I, we find among fifteen completely readable words nine pure Sanskrit bases, three Prakrit formations, *sethi* for *śreshṭhi*, *dhitu* for *duhituḥ*, and *Koṭṭiya*, and three hybrids, *Bahmadásika* for *Brahmadásika*, *Uchenágarî* for *Uchchairnágarî* and *sahachari-Khuḍá* for *sahacharî-Kshudrá*. It is only in a few documents like Nos. XII, XIV, and XVI that Prakrit and hybrid forms prevail. Irrespective of the numerical question, it is worthy of note that certain words are always given in their Sanskrit form and some invariably in Prakrit. To the former class belong *mahárája*, *deva*, *putra*, *śákhá*, *dharmapatní*, *sahacharî*, *pratimá*; to the latter *arahaṁta* for *arhat*, the representatives of *duhituḥ*, *dhitu* and *dhîtu*, and those of the name *Vajrî* or *Vajrâ*, *Vérî* (No. III*B*, l. 3), *Vaïrá* (No. VII*B*, l. 1), *Veriya* (No. VIII, l. 1), *Vairá* (No. XXI, l. 3). In all the other words, which occur more frequently, there are vacillations, sometimes in one and the same document.

The great interest, which the development of the Prakrits possesses for the history of Indian literature, would make it desirable to determine exactly the character of the vernacular of Central India used in the first and second centuries A.D., which influenced

[11] When I wrote my article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morg.*, vol. II, p. 145, I was not aware that this anomaly occurred frequently, and hence proposed to correct the text.

[12] *Abhandlungen des VIIten Int. Or. Congresses, Arische Section*, pp. 1ff.

the language of these documents. Unfortunately the number of the inscriptions is still so small that it is impossible to obtain in this respect perfectly certain results. Nevertheless I will state that from the materials accessible to me, I consider it to have been in some points more similar to the Jaina Prakrit and the Mahârâshṭrî than to the Pali and to the language of Aśoka's edicts and of the older Andhra inscriptions. Words like the representatives just enumerated of *Vajrî* and *Vajrâ*, like *Koṭṭiya* for *Koṭṭika*, *Brahmadâsiya* for *Brahmadâsika*, *Śiriya* for *Śirika*, *lohavâṇiya* for *lohavâṇija*, and *Haganamdi* for *Bhaganandi*, seem to indicate that the destruction of the medial and initial consonants had begun, and it is quite possible that among the numerous counter-instances some, at least, may be due to the desire of the authors to make their language sound like Sanskrit, *i.e.*, that they may be attempts at a retranslation of more advanced Prakrit forms into Sanskrit. Thus the two forms *Bahmadâsika* and *Brahmadâsiya* lead me to suspect that the real popular form was *Bamhadâsiya* or even *Bambhadâsiya*, which was retransliterated into Sanskrit in two different ways, both times with indifferent success. In two points this Prakrit probably differed from nearly all the literary Prakrits, agreeing at the same time with the modern vernaculars. First, it probably possessed, like the latter, only two sibilants, *sa* and *śa*, which were, as is done in the present day, frequently interchanged. The inscriptions have, it is true, the three signs used in Sanskrit, and their use remains unchanged in pure Sanskrit words. Even the lingual *sha* keeps its place in such words and in the hybrid forms with *shka* and *shṭa*, *e.g.*, in *Kaṇishka*, *Huvishka*, *pratishṭâpita*, *Goshṭha*..., *Jeshṭahastin*, *vishṭûyamâna*, *śishya*. But, when regular Prakrit forms are substituted for, or derived from, the Sanskrit words, the lingual *sha* almost disappears. The palatal *śa*, on the contrary, mostly remains and even extends its sphere; here and there *sa* appears in its stead. Thus we find in the Prakrit equivalent for *śishya*, once *śisha* (No. V*B*, l. 1), once *śiśa* (No. XIV*B*, l. 1), and twice *śisa* (No. IX, l. 2, and Cunningham's No. 10, l. 1, *śasasya*, according to the facsimile). The Prakrit feminine of *śishya* is spelt once *śishini* (No. VI*B*, l. 2) and six times *śiśîni* or *śiśini* (No. II*C*, l. 1; No. VII*B*, l. 1; No. XI*A*, l. 2; No. XII, l. 2; No. XIV*B*, l. 1). Further, *śvaśura* becomes *śaśura* (No. XVII, l. 4); *śrî* is invariably *śiri* in the names *Śirika* or *Śiriya* and *Buddhaśiri* (No. XIX, l. 2); *Pushyamitrîya* is changed to *Puśyamitrîya* (No. VI, l. 2). The dental *sa* is put instead of *śa* in *sethi* (No. I*A*, l. 2), *suchila* (No. III*B*, l. 3), and in *saśrû* for *śvaśrû* (No. XVII, l. 4). Hence I regard the occurrence of *sha* in Prakrit words as merely graphic, and assume that *sa* and *śa* were the only two sibilants of the Prakrit vernacular, but were occasionally used the one for the other. That is just what is done in all the vernaculars of Northern, Western, and Central India, which from Kaśmîr down to the Marâṭhâ country possess only the dental and the palatal sibilants and exchange them very frequently, especially in their true popular varieties. The second point, in which the Prakrit of our inscriptions agreed with the modern vernaculars, not with the literary Prakrits, is the neglect of the aspiration of conjunct hard aspirates. We have *stâne* for *sthâne* (No. XVIII, l. 2), *pratishṭâpito* for *pratishṭhâpito* (No. XVIII, l. 4), *Jeshṭahastisya* (No. XIV*B*, l. 1, twice) for *Jyeshṭhahastisya*, *sarttavâhiniye* (Cunningham, No. 7, l. 2) for *sârtthavâhinyâḥ*, *śreshṭaputreṇa* and *śreshṭiná* (Cunningham, No. 9, l. 3) for *śreshṭhiputreṇa* and *śreshṭhiná*. It is just in these very groups that, according to the popular pronunciation of the vernaculars of Northern, Western, and Central India (with the exception of the Marâṭhî), the aspiration is omitted, though in writing it is frequently expressed. The numerous Sanskrit words, like *kanishṭha*, *pra-*

tishṭhâ, pratishṭhita, used in all the vernaculars, are in Kaśmîr, the Panjâb, Râjputanâ, Gujarât, Mâlvâ and the portions of the North-Western Provinces known to me, invariably pronounced *kaniśṭ, pratiśṭâ* and *pratiśṭit,* and one hears *stâna* quite as often as *sthâna.* It is only the learned Paṇḍit who will at least try to sound the *ṭha* or *tha.* Hundreds, nay thousands, of mistakes in Sanskrit inscriptions and manuscripts show that this neglect of the aspiration, especially in the group *shṭha,* is not of recent date. The examples in our inscriptions are sufficiently numerous to warrant at least the inference that in the first and second centuries of our era the omission of the aspiration did occur, and perhaps was optional.

As regards the origin of this mixed dialect, as well as of all other mixed dialects, I agree with Professor Kern, *Jaartelling,* p. 108 ff., and Dr. R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar, *Indian Antiquary,* vol. XII, p. 146, that it is the result of the efforts of half-educated people to express themselves in Sanskrit, of which they possessed an insufficient knowledge and which they were not in the habit of using largely. All the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurâ were no doubt composed by the monks who acted as the spiritual directors of the laymen, or by their pupils. Though no inscription has been found in which the author is named, the above inference is warranted by the fact that numerous later documents of the same character contain the names of Yatis who are said to have composed them or to have written them. The Yatis in the first and second centuries, no doubt, just as now, for their sermons and the exposition of their scriptures, used the vernacular of the day, and their scriptures were certainly written in Prakrit. It was a matter of course that their attempts to write in Sanskrit were not very successful. This theory receives the strongest support from the fact that the character and the number of the corruptions varies almost in every document, and from various single sentences, such as *vâchakasya aryya-Baladinasya śishyo aryya-Mâtridinaḥ tasya nirvvarttanâ,* which latter reads exactly like a piece from a stupid schoolboy's exercise. It is also confirmed by numerous analogies, such as the language of the *janmapattras* of the badly educated Joshîs mentioned by Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar, the books of masons and carpenters, which give the rules for building houses in most barbarous Sanskrit, and many modern inscriptions, composed by clerks or Yatis. A large number of specimens of the latter kind are contained in the collection of votive inscriptions from Pâlitâṇâ lately copied by Mr. H. Cousens. I give a short one, which shows a mixture of Sanskrit, Gujarâtî and Mârvâḍî :—

संवत् १८६०ना[13] वैशाख सुदि ५ चंद्रवारे[14] श्रीविजय आणंदसुरिगच्छे[15] श्रीविजयदैवचंद्रसूरिराज्ये श्रीसूरितबिंदिरे[16] वास्तव्य श्री उसवालज्ञातीय झवेरी[17] प्रेमचंद झवेरचंद[18] भार्या जीयती[19] तस्य पुत्र वाइचंदेन श्रीविज्जहरा पार्श्वनाथ नविन प्रशाद[20] नवीन बिंब भरापितं[21] । माताजी झकुभाई तस्य पुत्र रत्नचंद भा[22] मलुकचद भा° अभेचंद भां प्रेमचंदनामेन बिंब भरापितं । तपागच्छे । विजयजिनेंद्रसूरि प्रतिष्टितं[23] . . . .[24]

[13] This is the Gujarâtî genitive.

[14] A pure Sanskrit form and inflexion; compare below *tasya.*

[15] *Gachchai,* which recurs below, is the Mârvâḍî spelling for *gachchhe,* which is both Gujarâtî and Sanskrit. Similarly we have in the next compound *Daivachandra* for *Devachandra.* The pronunciation is in all three cases *e,* not *ai.*

[16] *Sûritabindire* is the Mârvâḍî form for *Sûratabaṁdare.*

[17] Formed from the Arabic.

[18] A common hybrid form composed of an Arabic and a Prakrit word.

[19] Usually spelt *joitî,* from Sanskrit *dyotantî.*

[20] Pronounce *parshâd,* a common Mârvâḍî and Hindî corruption of *prâsâda.*

[21] A hybrid form, representing Gujarâtî *bharâvyuṁ,* which occurs in several other inscriptions.

[22] An abbreviation of *bhâî,* brother.

[23] The form with *ṭa* is invariably used in these inscriptions.

[24] A few words giving the name of the author of this precious document are illegible.

TRANSLATION.

"On the fifth lunar day (*of*) the bright half (*of*) Vaiśâkha of the year 1860, on a Monday, during the reign of glorious and victorious Devachandra Sûri, in the *gachchha* of glorious and victorious Âṇanda Sûri, dwelling in the famous harbour of Sûrat, (*was*) the jeweller Premchand Jhaverchand, (*his*) wife (*was*) Joyatî; (*by*) his son Vâichand was erected a new image (*in the*) new temple (*of*) Vijjaharâ (Vidyâdhara?) Pârśvanâth.[25] The image was erected in the name of Premchand, brother of Ratnachand (*and*) Malukchand, son of Mâtâjî (?) Jhakubhâ; consecrated by Vijaya Jinendrasûri in the Tapâgachcha."

The contents of the older inscriptions Nos. XIX—XXIII have been discussed in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. II, pp. 141ff., and vol. III, pp. 233 ff. Among the new ones Nos. I—XVII belong to the Jainas, who possessed, as Dr. Führer has discovered this year, two magnificent temples on the site where the Kaṅkâlî Tîla rises at present. Their historical value is very great. First, No. I, which is dated in the year 5 of Devaputra Kanishka, proves beyond all doubt that Sir A. Cunningham was right in referring the date of his No. 2, *Saṁ.* 5, to the reign of the first Indo-Skythic king. Secondly, they confirm the correctness of the readings Sthâniya or Ṭhâniya *kula* and Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, instead of which the *Kalpasûtra* gives Vâṇijja and Châraṇa, and they allow us to correct the name of the Śrîguha *saṁbhoga* to Śrîgṛiha. Thirdly, they furnish seven well-preserved names of *kulas* and *śâkhâs*, and in addition a mutilated one, hitherto not traced in epigraphical documents, which help to vindicate the much-assailed Jaina tradition.

Three of the new *kulas*, the Puśyamitrîya (No. VI), the Arya-Cheṭiya (No. IX), and Âryya-Haṭikiya (No. XI), belong to the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, and evidently correspond with the Pûsamitijja (in Sanskrit Pushyamitrîya), the Ajja-Cheḍaya (in Sanskrit Ârya-Cheṭaka) and the Hâlijja (in Sanskrit Hâlîya) *kulas*, which in the list of the *Kalpasûtra* (p. 80, ed. Jacobi) occupy the third, fourth, and sixth places. To the same *gaṇa* belong the Vajanâgarî (No. XI) and the Harîtamâlakaḍhî (No. X) *śâkhâs*. The name of the former agrees fully with that of the Vajjanâgari *śâkhâ*, the fourth in the list of the *Kalpasûtra* (*loc. cit.*).[26] The Sanskrit equivalent of the word is, I think, not Vajranâgarî, as the commentators of the *Kalpasûtra* assert, but Vârjanâgarî, *i. e.*, the *śakhâ* of Vṛijinagara, the capital of the Vṛiji country. For *Vajranâgarî* would have become *Vairanâgarî*. On the other hand it is highly probable that the Jainas were settled in the Vajjabhumi, where Vardhamâna is said to have done penance.[27] The second, the Harîtamâlakaḍhî *śâkhâ* is no doubt identical with the Hâriyamâlâgârî, which the *Kalpasûtra* names as the first of the branches of the Châraṇa *gaṇa*. The form of the inscription gives a good sense if the end of the compound *kaḍhî* is taken to stand for *gaḍhî*, as may be done according to the analogy of *saṁbhoka* which (No. VII*B*, l. 1) occurs instead of *saṁbhoga*.[28] With this supposition it means "the *śâkhâ* of the fort called Harîtamâla," *i. e.*, the field or site of

[25] This might also mean "a new temple of Pârśvanâtha (and) a new image."

[26] Regarding the single *ja*, see above, p. 373.

[27] *Âchârâṅgasûtra*, *Sac. Bks. East*, p. 84. The note explains the name, in accordance with Śîlâṅka's commentary, as an equivalent of *Vajrabhûmi*. But its Sanskrit etymon is *Vârjabhûmi*. The *Vṛijis*, in Pali *Vajji* and in Aśoka's edict XIII, *Vaji* and *Varji*, were settled close to the *Suhmas* (*Subbha*) and to *Râḍhâ*.

[28] Occasional substitutions of hard consonants for soft ones are found also in Aśoka's edicts, in the literary Pali, and in other Prakrit dialects.

Harîta. The form of the *Kalpasûtra* would mean "the *śâkhâ* of the house (*âgâra*) called Hâritamâla". This is hardly possible, and as *gaḍhî* is pronounced *garhî*, it seems probable that Hâriyamâlâgârî is slightly corrupt and has to be changed to Hâriyamâlagaḍhî. The mistakes, which the inscriptions have shown to occur in other names of the *Kalpasûtra*, certainly encourage one to hazard this slight alteration.

Two of the new names refer to the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*. The Brahmadâsika *kula* (Nos. I, IV, V, XIV)[29] may be identified with the Bambhalijja *kula* of the *Kalpasûtra* (p. 82, Jacobi). The latter name corresponds not to Sanskrit Brahmaliptaka, as the commentators assert, but to Brahmalîya, and this is derived from Brahmala, which according to the Indian custom of abbreviating compound names, may stand for Brahmadâsa. Similarly, Devaka, Devala or Devila may be used for Devadatta, Devagupta, Devapâlita, Devarakshita, Devabhûti or Devâśarman.[30]

The Uchenâgarî or Uchchenâgarî *śâkhâ* of the same inscriptions is of course the Uchchânâgarî *śâkhâ* of the *Kalpasûtra* (*loc. cit.*) which stands first in the list of the branches of the Koḍiya *gaṇa*. The difference in the second vowel has been caused by the existence of two synonymous Sanskrit forms of the etymon, Uchchairnagara and Uchchânagara,[31] which both mean "the high town".

This geographical name seems to be identical, as Dr. Burgess suggests to me, with that of the fort of Unchânagar, which belongs to the modern town of Bulandshahr in the North-Western Provinces (see Sir A. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. XIV, p. 147). The old name of Bulandshahr itself was Varana or Baraṇa. This is no doubt the place after which the Vâraṇa *gaṇa* was named.

The mutilated name . . hika *kula* (No. II) and . . . . ka *kula* (No. XII) must, I think, have been [Me]hika. For there is in the *Sthavirâvalî* of the *Kalpasûtra* only *one* name, Mehiya (Jacobi, p. 81), which shows a penultimate *hi*. If this conjecture is accepted, the new inscriptions furnish also proof of the actual existence of the second *kula* of the Vesavâḍiya *gaṇa*. For the restoration of the mutilated name of the . ârina *saṁbhoga*, which appears in No. XIV*A*, l. 2, I cannot offer any proposal. As the letters are not perfectly distinct, it is just possible that *Śirikâto saṁbhogâto* may be the original reading.

With respect to the Koṭṭiya—Koṭika *gaṇa*, it is now evident that its adherents must have been more numerous in Mathurâ than those of the other schools. In our inscriptions it occurs eight times, in Sir A. Cunningham's collection four times, and in Dr. Führer's collection of 1889 certainly once, perhaps twice. It deserves to be noted that it is the only *gaṇa* whose name survived in the fourteenth century A. D.[32] Its great age, as well as the great age of its ramifications, the Brahmadâsika family, the Uchchenâgarî branch and the Śrîgṛiha district community, is attested by our No. IV. The latest possible date of this inscription is Saṁvat 50 or A. D. 128-9. The preacher then living, the venerable Sîha, enumerates four spiritual ancestors, the first among whom must have flourished about the beginning of our era. The *gaṇa* was, as

[29] The name occurs, too, in Sir A. Cunningham's No. 2, where on the second (*recte* first) side, l. 2, [*ku*]*lâto Brahmadâsikâto Uchenâkarito* [*śâkhâto*], ought to be restored.

[30] Compare *ante*, p. 225, *Sîyaka* for *Siṁhabhaṭa*, and *ante*, p. 272, *Viśvala* for *Viśvamalla*.

[31] Compare the Sanskrit names *Uchchaiḥśravas* and *Uchchâmanyu*.

[32] See *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morg.*, vol. I, p. 176, note 1.

we learn, much divided at that early period, and this fact speaks in favour of the statement of the tradition which places its origin about the year 250 B.C.[33]

The fourth point, which lends to these new inscriptions a very great importance, is their mentioning several female ascetics, and their showing that these persons developed a very considerable activity. There can be no doubt that Aryya-Saṅgamikâ and Aryya-Vasulâ, who are mentioned in Nos. II and XII, Graha . i . . . . (No. V.), Aryya-Kumâramitâ (No. VII), Balavarmâ, Nandâ and Akakâ (?) (No. XI), as well as Aryya-Śâmâ (No. XIV) and Dhâmathâ(?) (No. XXVI), were nuns. That follows from their title *Aryya*, 'the venerable,' from their being called *śiśîni* or *śiśini*, "female disciples," from their having other female disciples, and from the statement that the gifts were made at, or by their *nirvartana*, their request or advice.[34] With the certainty thus gained, it is not difficult to recognise that some of the documents found in former years likewise name nuns or point to the existence of female ascetics among the Jainas of Mathurâ. Though No. XIX is mutilated, the 'sister' of Aryya-Sandhika, Aryya-Jayâ, who appears among the male ascetics, must now be considered a nun. Again, it becomes very probable that the expression *chaturvarṇa saṁgha*,[35] "the community including four classes," which strongly reminds one of the later Śvetâmbara term *chaturvidha saṁgha*, means, like the latter, the community consisting of monks, nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters.[36]

With respect to one of the nuns our inscriptions contain statements which require explanation. The venerable Kumâramitrâ in No. V, who was the female pupil of the venerable Baladina, had, it appears, a son Kumârabhaṭi, whom she induced to dedicate an image of Vardhamâna. It would be a mistake to infer from this admission that the nuns of the first and second centuries led immoral lives. The correct explanation will be that Kumâramitrâ was a widow who turned nun after the decease of her husband, and that she afterwards acted as spiritual director to her son. It is worthy of note that this is the only case where a nun appears as adviser of a layman. In all the other inscriptions we find that the nuns exhorted female lay members of the Saṁgha to make donations. It agrees with this that in modern times too, the order of Jaina nuns mostly consists of widows, especially of virgin widows, who, according to the custom of most castes, cannot be remarried, and are got rid of in a convenient manner by being made to take the tonsure; see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 278.

The last of the new inscriptions, Dr. Führer explains, is on a slab found near the brick *stûpa* adjoining the two Jaina temples; but he adds that it was lying loose on the pavement of the court, and that it may have belonged originally to some other temple. It records the consecration of a stone slab, *stâne*, *i. e.*, either "on the site sacred to" or "in the temple of," the divine lord of Nâgas, Dadhikarṇa. The worship of the Nâgas or snake-deities is of great antiquity in India. It forms part of the ancient ritual of the Brâhmaṇs, who offered and still offer the *sarpabali*[37] in the rainy season, when the snakes

[33] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 246.

[34] In further elucidation of the meaning of the term *nirvartana*, I can now add, that many of the dedications, mentioned in the Pâlitânâ inscriptions, are said to have been made *upadeśât*, by the advice, of monks.

[35] Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, plate v, No. 6, l. 3; *Wiener Zeitschrift*, vol. I, p. 172f.

[36] It is a characteristic Jaina doctrine that the Śrâvakas and Śrâvikâs form part of the *Saṁgha*. On this point the Jainas differ very markedly from the Buddhists.

[37] This is prescribed in all the *Grihyasûtras*: see, e. g., *Âśvalâyana Gṛi. Sû.* II, 1 14.

are driven out of their holes and often take refuge in the houses. In the Paurâṇic worship we find the *Nâga-pañchamî*, the snake-festival on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, which is still very popular and celebrated very generally.[38] There exist also a few Nâga temples. In Gujarât the most famous is the so-called Nâg of Dehemâ, which lies in the north-west corner of the province, close to the Raṇ of Kachchh. I visited Dehemâ in 1873 and found there a temple, consisting of a small dome about five feet high, with an opening towards the east. Inside there was a stone slab showing in the centre the relievo of a large cobra standing upright on its tail, and on both sides some smaller ones in the same position. A short inscription stated that the image was erected in Vikrama Saṁvat 1212, or A.D. 1156-58. The stone slab at Mathurâ, of which our inscription speaks, probably bore a similar representation. As regards Dadhikarṇa, his name occurs in the *Harivaṁśa*,[39] where he is invoked in the *âhnika mantra*, the daily prayer which is said to have been recited originally by Baladeva and after him by Kṛishṇa. It thus appears that the worship of Dadhikarṇa certainly formed part of the *Bhâgavata* ritual and was practised at Mathurâ in early times. These facts may indicate that our No. XVIII is not a Buddhist, but a Bhâgavata inscription. But it is quite possible that the Buddhists in whose legends the Nâgas play a great part, and on whose Stûpas they are often represented as worshippers of the Bo-tree, may have taken over the worship of Dadhikarṇa from the Brâhmaṇs. Finally, another very interesting point in this inscription is the statement that the dedicators of the stone were the "sons of those *śailâlakas* who were famous as the Chândaka brothers." It is impossible to interpret *śailâlaka* otherwise than as a synonym of *śailâlin*, which, according to Pâṇini, IV, 3, 110, originally was a name of those actors who studied the *Sûtras* of Śilâlin, and according to the *Koshas* was used later to denote any actor. Our inscription, therefore, teaches us that Mathurâ had its actors in the first or second century of our era, and makes us actually acquainted with the name of such a troup. It further shows that play-acting was then, as in the present day, the business of particular families — a fact which may also be inferred from the introduction to several Sanskrit dramas where the *naṭî* is sometimes called the wife of the *sûtradhâra*, and his brothers are mentioned as actors. In a Jaina story of the clever boy Bharata, we hear even of a *naṭagrâma*, a whole village inhabited by actors.

No. I.[40]

A. 1. — — [41] दे[व]पुत्रस्य क[नि]ष्कस्य सं ५ हे १ दि १ एतस्य पूर्व्व[ा]यं कोट्टियातो गणातो बह्म-
दासिका[तो]

2. [कु]लातो [उ]चेनागरितो शाखातो सेथि—ह — स्य॑ि—ि—ि—सेनस्य सहचरिखुडाये दे[व]—

B. 1. पालस्य धि[त] — — — —

2. वधमानस्य प्रति[मा] ॥

[38] See Râo Sâheb V. N. Mandlik's article in the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, pp. 169ff., where many interesting local customs are mentioned.

[39] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 168, 17, where the Calcutta edition has the misprint *nâgarâḍadhi-karnasya*; see also Langlois' French translation, tome I, p. 507, where the prayer forms the 118th Adhyâya.

[40] Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted figure of a Jina,—the stone measuring 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 7 inches, and found in the west of the Kaṅkâlî-Tîla at the second Jaina temple. The bracketted letters are more or less defaced but if nothing is stated to the contrary, I consider the reading nevertheless to be certain.

[41] Restore *siddhaṁ*

TRANSLATION.

[Success!] In the year 5 of *Devaputra* Kanishka, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the first day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—an image of Vadhamâna (*Vardhamâna*) (*was dedicated*) by Khuḍâ (*Kshudrâ*), consort of alderman (*sethi*) ..... sena (*and*) daughter of Deva . . pâla, out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Bamhadâsika *kula*, the 'Uchenâgarî *śâkhâ*.

No. II.[42]

A. 1. — —[43] सं १० ५ ग्र ३ दि १ अस्या पूर्व्व[ा]य

B. 1. — ह्विकातो[44] कुलातो अर्य्यजयभूति-

C. 1. स्य शिशीनिनं अर्य्यसङ्गमिकये शिशीनि—[45]

D. 1. अर्य्यवसुलये [निर्व्वर्त्त]नं

A. 2. — — लस्य धी[तु] — f — — — धु[46] वेणि-

B. 2. — [47]श्रेष्टि[स्य] धर्मपत्निये भट्टि[से]नस्य

C. 2. [मातु] कुमरमितयो[48] दनं भगवतो [प्र]—

D. 2. मा[49] सव्वतोभद्रिका [॥]

TRANSLATION.

[*Success*!] In the year 15, in the third month of summer, on the first day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—a fourfold[50] image of the Divine one, the gift of Kumaramitâ (*Kumâramitrâ*), daughter of . . la, daughter-in-law of . . . , first wife of alderman (*śreshṭhin*) Veṇi, mother of Bhaṭṭisena, (*was dedicated at*) the request of the venerable Vasulâ, the female pupil of the venerable Saṅgamikâ, the female pupil of the venerable Jayabhûti out of the [Mehika] *kula*.

No. III.[51]

A. 1. सिद्धम् । सं १० ९ व ४ दि १० अस्यां पु-

2. र्व्वायं वाचकस्य अर्य्यबल-

3. दिनस्य शिष्यो [वाच]को अर्य्यमा-

4. तृदिनः तस्य [नि]र्व्वर्त्त[न]ा

[42] Incised on the four faces of the pedestal of a small quadruple image of standing naked Jinas;—the stone, 2 feet high by 9 inches square, was found in the west of the Kaṅkâlî Tîla, at the second Jaina temple.

[43] The beginning of line 2 proves the existence of a lacuna; probably सिद्धम् to be restored.

[44] Restore संह्विकातो, as proposed above.

[45] Restore शिशीनिनं.

[46] Restore वधु.

[47] Probably वेणिस्य श्रेष्ठिस्य to be restored.

[48] Read कुमरमितये.

[49] Restore प्रतिमा.

[50] *Sarvatobhadrikâ pratimâ*,—literally 'an image lovely on all sides,' is apparently a technical term for a 'fourfold' image, one being carved on each side of a four-faced column. Compare the use of *sarvatobhadra devâlaya*, which, according to Varâhamihira's *Brihat-Saṁh.*, LVI, 27, means 'a temple with four doors and many spires,' *i.e.*, such a one which looks equally pleasing from all sides.

[51] Incised on the pedestal of a four-faced image (*chaturmukha*) consisting of four naked standing Jinas. Stone 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 2 inches, found at the same place.

B. 1. [कोट्टियातो गणातो ठानियातो]

2. [कुलातो श्रीगृहातो संभोगातो]

3. [अर्य्यवेरिशाखातो सु]चि-[52]

C. [ल]स्य धर्म्मपत्निये ले — — —

D. दानं भगवतो स[न्ति] — — [प्र]तिमा

A. 5. नाश — — — — — तनं[53]

B. 4. — ा [न]मो अरत्ततानं सर्व्वलोकुत्त[मानं][54]

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 19, in the fourth (*month of*) the rainy season, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Baladina (*Baladatta*) (*is*) the preacher, the venerable Mâtṛidina (*Mâtṛidatta*); at his request (*was dedicated*) an image of divine Santi[55] . . . , the gift of Le . . . , first wife of Suchila (*Śuchila*), out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Ṭhâniya *kula*, the Śrîgṛiha *sambhoga*, the Aryya-Verî (*Ârya-Vajrî*) *śâkhâ* . . . . . Adoration to the Arhats, the highest ones in the whole world!

No. IV.[56]

A. 1. [सिद्धं सं २० ग्र ३][57] दि [१०] ७ [एत]स्य पूर्व्वाय कोट्टिय[ा]तो गणातो ब्रह्मदासियातो कुलातो उच्चे[नागरितो शा]खातो [श्री]गृह[ा]तो संभोगातो [बृहंतव]ाचक[58] च गणिन च ज[—मित्र]स्य — —[59]

2. अर्य्य[ो]घस्य शिष्यगणिस्य [अ]र्य्यपालस्य अ[ङच]रो [वाच]कस्य अर्य्य[दत्त]स्य[60] शिष्यो वाचको अर्य्यसीहा [त]स्य निव्वर्त्तणा [खो]ट्टमि[त्त]स्य[61] मानिकरस्य [गो]— जयभ[ट्टि][62] धीतु दा — स्य

B. 1. [लो]हवाणियस्य[63] वाधर — — वधू [ह]गु[देव]स्य धर्म्मपत्नियि मित्तायि [दानं] — — — [सर्व्व]स[त्वानं] हि[तसु]खाये काक[तेय] — — — — — — त्त —

2. — वाज — — — — — — ि — — —ा — — — — — — — — — — — — — — रज — — — — — — — — ।

[52] The letters of the first three lines of *B* are much blurred and partly indistinct; but none are really doubtful except सु. One or two letters may have been lost at the end of *B* 3.

[53] *A* 5 is separated by some ornaments from the other four lines. Five letters seem to have been lost.

[54] *B* 4 is separated from the other three lines by two rows of ornaments. Read अरहंतानं.

[55] If the much disfigured second syllable is *nti*, as I read it doubtingly, it appears certain that the Tîrthaṁkara mentioned must be Śântinâtha.

[56] Incised on the pedestal of a large naked standing Jina, 7 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, found at the same place. Very badly preserved.

[57] The figures are doubtful. The first may have been 50.

[58] First three syllables doubtful.

[59] °मित्र° doubtful; restore शिष्य.

[60] The first letter might be read ज, and only the upper part of the second sign has been preserved. But in Mr. Growse's No. 8, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 218, we have plainly वाचकदत्तशिष्यस्य सीहस्य.

[61] First letter very doubtful; the third and fourth syllables are possibly वीरग or मिरग.

[62] गो may have been गौ; the last two syllables of the name are doubtful.

[63] The second syllable is doubtful.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 20 (?), in the third (?) month of summer, on the seventeenth (?) day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—the preacher, the venerable Sîha[64] (*Siṁha*) (*was*) the pupil of the preacher, the venerable Datta, (*who was*) the *Śraddhachara*[65] of the *gaṇin*, the venerable Pâla, (*who was*) the pupil of the venerable Ogha(?), (*who was*) the pupil of the great (?) preacher and *gaṇin*[66] Ja . . mitra(?) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadâsiya *kula*, the Uchchenâgarî *śâkhâ* (*and*) the Śrîgṛiha *saṁbhoga*,—at his request (*was dedicated*) for the welfare and happiness of all beings . . . . , the gift of Mittrâ, the first wife of Haggudeva (*Phalgudeva*), the daughter-in-law of the iron-monger Vâdhara . . . , the daughter of . . . Jayabhaṭṭi, the *mânikara*, of Khoṭṭamitta . . . . . .

No. V.[67]

A. 1. सवत्सरे[68] पचविशे हेमंतम[से] त्रितिये दिवसे वीशे अस्मि[69] क्षुणे

B. 1. कोट्टियतो गणतो ब्र[ह्म]दासिकतो कुलतो उचेनागरितो शाखातो अयबलत्रतस्य शिषो सधि-

2. स्य शिषिनि ग्रहि— — — ि—वतन[70] [ना]दिअ[रि]त[71] जभ[क]स्य वधु जय[भ]ट्टस्य

कुटुबिनीय रयगिनिये [वु]सुय[72][॥]

TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-fifth year, in the third month of winter, on the twentieth day, at this moment (?);[73] a *vusuya* (?),[74] (*was dedicated*) by Rayagini, the daughter-in-law of Jabhaka, from Nândigiri (?), (*and*) wife of Jayabhaṭṭa, the request (*having been made*) by Graha.i..., the female pupil of Sadhi, pupil of the venerable Balatrata (*Balatrâta*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadâsika *kula* (*and*) the Uchenâgarî *śâkhâ*.

[64] The plural *Sîhâ* is a *pluralis majestatis*, and hence the attributes *śishyo* and *vâchako* have been put *ad sensum* in the singular number.

[65] Compare below, No. XXI.

[66] Regarding the construction see above, p. 375.

[67] Incised on the pedestal—left side and back—of a small statue (destroyed); stone 1 foot 11 inches by 9 inches, found at the same place.

[68] The letter ष stands below the line. Possibly स्वस्ति may have been at the beginning of the inscription. Both impressions show a long horizontal stroke and that on thick paper some indistinct letters.

[69] The lower part of the second syllable has on the right a superfluous stroke, which makes it look like a hybrid of म and य.

[70] Restore निवतन.

[71] This may perhaps have been नांदिगिरितो.

[72] The first syllable is not certain.

[73] The phrase *asmi* or *asma kshuṇe* occurs four times—here and in Nos. VI, XIII and XXV—in the place of *etasyaṁ* or *asyaṁ pûrvâyaṁ*. It also occurs once in a second collection to be published hereafter, and twice we have the corresponding *iśe* or *iśa chhunami* in Kharoshṭrî inscriptions from the Pañjâb; see Sir A. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V, Pl. xvi, Nos. 1 and 2, and *Jour. Asiatique*, 8*me* série, vol. XV, Pl. i, No. 3. It must, of course, have the same or a similar meaning. The first word is without doubt the equivalent of Sanskrit *asmin*; the second I take to represent Sanskrit *kshaṇe*, though there is no other instance in which the first vowel of this word becomes *u*; *asmin kshaṇe* might mean either "at this moment" or "on the occasion of this festival."

[74] *Vusuya* (?) probably denotes either some kind of image or some kind of gift.

No. VI.[75]

A. महाराज — — — ष्कस सं २० ९ हे २ दि ३० अस्म क्षुणे भगवतो वर्धमानस प्रति[मा][76]
प्रतिष्ठापिता ग्रहह[थ]स्य[77] धितर सुखिताये बोधिनदि[ये][78]

B. कुटुंबिनिये वारणे गणे पुश्यमित्रीये कुले गणिस अर्य[दतस्य शिष्यस्य][79] गह[प्र]कि[व]स[80]
निर्वर्त[ना] अर[हं]तपुजाये ।

Translation.

In the year 29 of the great king . . shka, in the second month of winter, on the thirtieth day,—at this moment (?),[81] an image of the divine Vardhamâna was set up by order of Bodhinadi (*Bodhinandi* ?), a married lady, the cherished daughter of Grahahathi (*Grahahastin,*)[82] at the request of Gahaprakiva (?),[83] pupil of the venerable Data, a *gaṇin* in the Vâraṇa *gaṇa* and the Puśyamitrîya (*Pushyamitrîya*) *kula*, in honour of the Arhat.

No. VII.[84]

A. 1. [सिद्धं][85]। सं ३० [५][86] व ३ दि १० अस्य[ां] पूर्व्वायां कोट्टियातो गणतो [स्थानि]या-
[तो कु — —[87]

B. 1. वइरातो श[ा]ख[ा]तो शिरिकातो सं[भो]कातो अर्य्यबलदिनस्य शिशिनि कुमरमि[त][88]

2. तस्य पुत्रो कुम[ा]रभटि गंधिको तस — नं[89] प्रतिमा वर्धमानस्य सशितमखित[बो]धित[90]

C. 1. अ[र्य्यं][91]

2. कुमार-

3. मित्रा-

4. ये—

D. 1. र्व्वं

2. [त]न[92][॥]

[75] Incised on the base of a large statue (lost); stone 3 feet 6 inches long by 9 inches high; found at the same temple.

[76] The last syllable and the vowel of the preceding are completely gone.

[77] The top of the letter थ is gone, and the reading may have been ग्रहहथिस्य, as the analogy of numerous other names requires.

[78] The last syllable is nearly gone.

[79] The lower parts of the bracketted syllables are gone.

[80] The third syllable looks, on the obverse of two impressions and on the reverse of one, more like a damaged क्र. But the reverse of the second impression shows pretty clearly प्र. The fifth syllable is damaged and not certain.

[81] See above, No. V.

[82] Compare the names *Hastahasti, Mâghahasti, Jyeshṭahasti, etc.*, below.

[83] I do not dare to propose any transliteration for this name.

[84] Incised (*A, B*) on pedestal and (*C, D*) on sides of a small seated Jina, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; found at the same place. An enormous sign, looking like *gi*, stands between the second and third signs of शिशिनि and between the fourth and fifth signs of वर्धमानस्य, *B.* 1 and 2.

[85] Faintly visible on one impression only.

[86] The figure is somewhat damaged, but certain.

[87] Restore कुलातो.

[88] Restore कुमरमित्रा.

[89] Restore दानं.

[90] The third syllable of सशित is not quite distinct.

[91] Possibly अर्यं; the left-hand limb of य is not joined to the vertical stroke.

[92] Restore निर्व्वतनं.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 35, in the third (*month of the*) rainy season, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above;—the female pupil of the venerable Baladina (Baladatta) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Sthâniya *kula*, the Vairâ *śâkhâ* (*and*) the Śirika *saṁbhoka* (*saṁbhoga*), (*was*) Kumaramitrâ (*Kumâramitrâ*);—her son (*was*) the dealer in perfumes, Kumârabhaṭi;—his gift (*is*) an image of Vardhamâna (*dedicated at*) the request of the whetted,[93] polished and awakened venerable Kumâramitrâ.

No. VIII.[94]

A. सिद्धम् म[हा]रा[ज]स्य र[ाजा]तिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुवष्कस्य मं

४० (६०?) हेमन्तमासे ४ दि १० एतस्यां पूर्व्वायां कोट्टिये गणे स्थानिकीये कुले अय्य[वेरि]-

याण शाखाया[95] वाचकस्यार्य्यवृद्धहस्ति[स्य]

B. शिष्यस्य गणिस्य आर्य्यख[र्ण]स्य[96] पुय्यम[न][97]— — — — — — — — — — [स्य] — —

[व]तकस्य[98] [क]— सकस्य[99] कुटुम्बिनीये दत्ताये — नधर्म्मो[100] महाभोगताय प्रीयताम्भग-

वानृषभश्री:[1] ।

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 40 (60?) of the great king (*and*) supreme king of kings, Devaputra Huvashka,[2] in the fourth month of winter, on the tenth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, (*this*) meritorious gift (*was made*) for the sake of great happiness by Dattâ, the wife of Ka . pasaka, an inhabitant of . . vata, [*at the request*] of . . . . . *gaṇin*, the venerable Kharṇṇa, pupil of the preacher, the venerable Vṛiddhahasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Sthânikîya *kula* (*and*) the *śâkhâ* of the Aryya-Veriyas (*the followers of Ârya-Vajra*). May the divine (*and*) glorious Ṛishabha be pleased![3]

[93] I take *saśita* to stand for *saṁśita*, the past participle of *śi*, and *makhita* to be a half Prakritic form for *mrakshita*. These two participles, which I have translated above according to their literal meaning, must no doubt be understood in a figurative sense. They probably refer to the sharpening and polishing of the understanding and of the character by study and penances.

[94] Incised on the pedestal of a large figure which has been destroyed; pedestal 2 feet 6 inches long by 9 inches high; found at the same temple.

[95] The central stroke of श्रा is wanting.

[96] Possibly अर्य्यवेर्णस्य; the lower part of the fourth sign is blurred.

[97] Possibly अर्य्यमन; the tops of the third and fourth signs have been lost.

[98] Remnants of two signs are visible before the mutilated व. The first had a subscript *ra* and the second the vowel *u*.

[99] Before the slightly mutilated *sa* stood a compound sign, the lower part of which is very distinctly *pa*.

[100] Restore दानधर्म्मो.

[1] This is the reading of the reverse; according to the obverse one might read °न्वर्षभ.°

[2] I do not correct this name, because I am doubtful whether the omission of the vowel *i* in the second syllable is due to a clerical mistake, or to the pronunciation. In the genitive, *Huvashkasya*, the stress falls on the third syllable, and the vowel of the immediately preceding one becomes very indistinct.

[3] It would appear from this wish that the statue was one of the first Tîrthaṁkara, Ṛishabha or Vṛishabha.

No. IX.[4]

A. सू — नम शर[स]तममहरजस्य[5] हुविक्षस्य सव[त्स]रे ४० ४ हनग्[स्य][6] मस ३ दिविस २ ए[त]-

B. [स्यां] पुर्वय[ां][7] — — — गणे अर्यचेटियै[8] कुलि हरीतमालकढिय[श]ाख — — — — — ाचक [स्य][9] हगिनंदिश्र[10] शिसो ग — — नागसेणस्य नि — — —

Translation.

Hail! Adoration! In the year 44 of the most illustrious(?) great king Huviksha,[11] in the third month of summer, on the second day. On that [*date specified as*] above, at the request of the (*venerable*) Nâgaseṇa, the pupil of Haginaṁdi (Bhaganandi?), a preacher (*vâchaka*) in the [*Vâraṇa*] *gaṇa*, in the Aryya-Cheṭiya (Ârya-Cheṭika) *kula*, in the Harîtamâlakaḍhi (Harîtamâlagaḍhî) *śâkhâ* . . . . . .

No. X.[12]

L. 1. सिद्धम् सं ४० ५ व [३] दि १० [७][13] एतस्य पुर्व्व[ा]य — — — — — — — — — — — ये बुद्धिस्य[14] वधुये धर्म्मवृद्धिस्य—

Translation.

Success! In the year 45, in the third (?) (*month of*) the rainy season, on the seventeenth (?) day,—on the (*date specified as*) above . . . . . by the daughter-in-law[15] of Buddhi, the . . . of Dharmavṛiddhi . . . . . .

No. XI.[16]

A. 1. — — — ४०[17] — हे — दि १०

B. 1. ए [त]स्य पू[र्व्वा]य वरणतो ग[ण]-

C. 1. तो आर्य्यहटिकियतो कुलतो

D. 1. वजनगरित[ो] श[ा]ख[ा]त[ो] शि[रि]यत[ो]

[4] Incised on the *simhâsana* or pedestal of a large seated Jina (head lost),—3 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 10 inches; found at the same place. In the plates of facsimiles No. xxxii is a duplicate, to a larger scale and from a different impression, of the second line of this inscription.

[5] The first sign might also be read आ. The second is very distinct, but not a complete letter, as it consists of a semicircle, open to the left, with a horizontal stroke in the middle. I am inclined to believe that the whole is intended for स्वस्ति नमो शिरिमत्तममहाराजस्य.—

[6] The figure 4 has no cross-bar in the vertical stroke. ग्रस्य probably stands for ग्रीष्मस्य. I cannot explain हन. In No. XXIV we have हय व १.

[7] Restore एतस्यां पूर्वायां वारणे, the latter according to No. XI.

[8] The right side of the last letter is slightly damaged.

[9] Restore शाखायां; वाचकस्य looks here like वाचकी, but the reading is certain in the facsimile marked No. 32.

[10] Possibly हिग° or हेग°; at the end one would expect °नंदिस्य. Compare the facsimile No. 32.

[11] The form *Huviksha* may be due either to a negligent mode of spelling or to a faulty pronunciation.

[12] Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina (head lost), 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 2 inches; from the same place.

[13] The signs of the date are blurred, but with the exception of the bracketted ones not doubtful.

[14] Some indistinct signs are visible before येबुद्धिस्य.

[15] Regarding the meaning of *Vadhu*, daughter-in-law, compare Nos. II, IV, V.

[16] Incised on the four faces (*A, B, C, D*) of the pedestal of a quadruple image consisting of four erect naked standing Jinas, placed back to back as usual; stone 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot, found in the same locality. Preservation apparently not good.

[17] Restore सिद्धं सं. A second figure *seems* to have stood after the plain ग.

A. 2. — — [ग]तो[18] [द]तिस्य[19] शिशिनिये

B. 2. महन[न्दि]स्य[20] सढचरिये

C. 2. बल[वर्म]ये[21] [नन्द]ये[22] च शिशिनिये

D. 2. अ[कक]ये[23] [निर्व्वर्त्तना] — — —

A. 3. — [स्य] धीतु ग्रमि[क]जयदेवस्य[24] वधूये

B. 3. — मिको जयनागस्य धर्म्मपत्निये सिहदता[ये]

C. 3. — [लथंभ]ो[25] दनं = —

TRANSLATION.

[Success! In the year] 40, in the . . month of winter, on the tenth (?) day,—on that (*date specified as*) above,—a stone-pillar (*was dedicated, being*) the gift of Sihâdatâ (*Simhadattâ*), the first wife of the village headman[26] Jayanâga, the daughter-in-law of the village headman Jayadeva (*and*) daughter of . . . . . at the request of Akakâ (?), the female pupil of Nandâ (?), and of Balavarmâ (?), the *saḍhachari*[27] of Mahanandi (*Mahânandin*) (*and*) female pupil of Dati (Dantin) out of the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, the Âryya-Haṭikiya (*Ârya-Hâṭikîya*) *kula*, the Vajanagarî (*Vârjanâgarî*) *śâkhâ* (*and*) the Śiriya *saṁbhoga*.

No. XII.[28]

L. 1. सं ८० ६ हे १ दि १० २ दसस्य धितु पृयस्य कुटुबिनिये — — — — —[29]

2. — — [क]तो[30] कुलतो अयस[ङ्ग]मि[क]य शिशिनिय अयवसुल[ये] नि[व]तने [॥]

TRANSLATION.

In the year 86, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the 12th day [*was dedicated the gift*] of . . . ., daughter of Dasa (*Dâsa*), wife of Pṛiya (*Priya*), at the request of the venerable Vasulâ, pupil of the venerable Saṅgamikâ, out of the [Mehi] ka *kula*.

No. XIII.[31]

[सं ८० ७ ?] ग्र १ दि [२० ?] अ[स्मि] क्षुणे उच्चेनागरस्यार्य्यकुमारनन्दिशिष्यस्य मित्रस्य

. . . . . .

[18] Restore संभोगतो.

[19] Possibly दंतिस्य.

[20] The tops and lower ends of the signs are not distinct.

[21] The third and fourth signs are not certain.

[22] Only the second न is certain.

[23] The bracketted letters seem plain on one impression, but possibly the reading is *Sukarmaye*.

[24] Possibly ग्रामिको जय०.

[25] The last two consonants are only half formed. Restore शिलाथंभो.

[26] Regarding the meaning of *grâmika* see the *Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce*.

[27] As *saḍha* is in Jaina-Prakrit the usual representative of *śrâddha*, the term *saḍhachari* corresponds to *śrâddhachari*, and is the fem. of *śraddhacharo*; see Nos. IV and XXI.

[28] Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina (head lost), 1 foot 8 inches by 1 foot 2 inches; found at the same place. Four worshippers on each side of a wheel fill up the centre.

[29] The lost signs probably contained, besides the name of the donatrix, the word दानं.

[30] Only two letters can have been lost before the half visible क. From No. II, where the names of *Saṅgamikâ* and of *Vasulâ* occur, it may be inferred that the *kula* name probably was *Mehika*.

[31] Incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina (head lost); 1 foot 11 inches by 1 foot 10 inches; from the same place.

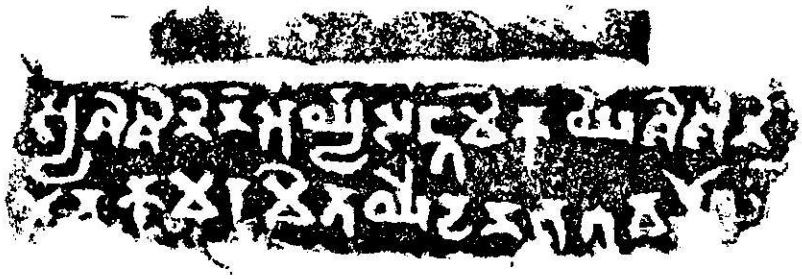
MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. I & II.

No. 1

Scale: 1-3rd.

No 2

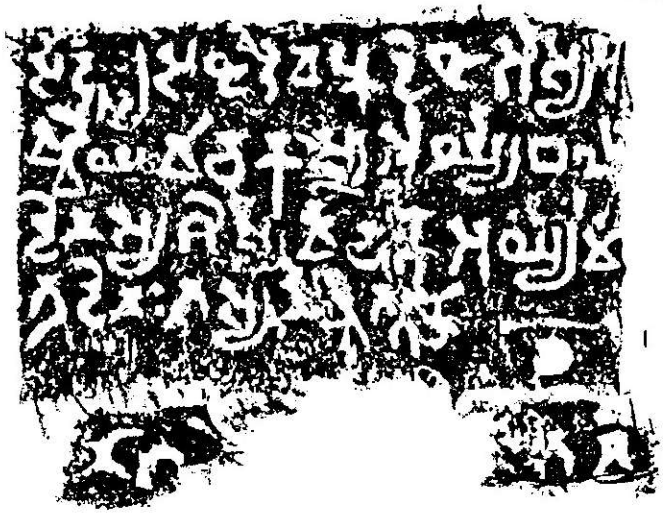
A



Scale: one-half.

From impressions by Dr. A. Führer

No.3



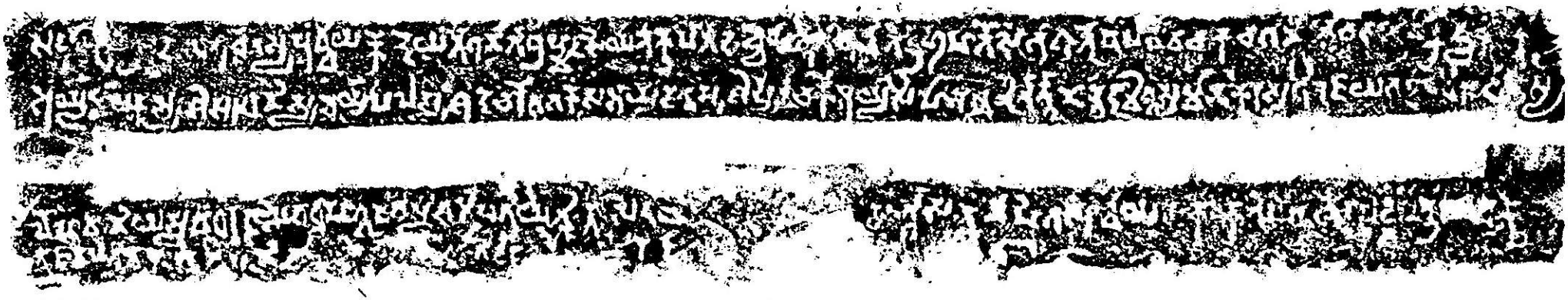
B

C

D

Scale: one-half.

No. 4



Scale: 2-5ths.

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. V–VIII.

No. 5

A

B

Scale: 1-4th.

No. 6

A

B

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 7

A

B

C

D

Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 8

A

B

Scale: 1-3rd.

From impressions by Dr. A. Führer

MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS: Nos. IX–XI.

No. 9

A

B

Scale: 1-4th.

No. 10

Scale: 1-4th.

No. 11

A

B

C

D

Scale: one-half.

From impressions by Dr A. Führer

TRANSLATION.

In the year 87 (?), in the first month of summer, on the twentieth (?) day,—at this moment (?),[32] of Mittra, pupil of the venerable Kumâranandi, of him of Uchchenagara[33] . . . . .

No. XIV.[34]

A. 1. सिद्धम् ॥[35]कोट्टियातो गणातो ब्रह्मदासिकात[ो] कुलातो

2. उ[च्चे]नागरितो शाखातो —रिनातो सं[भ]ो[गातो] अ[र्य्य]-

B. 1. जेष्टहस्ति[स्य] शि[ष्यो][36] अर्य्यमहलो[37] अर्य्यजेष्ट[हस्तिस] [शिशो][38] अर्य्य[गा]ढक[ो] [39] [त]स्य शिशिनि [अर्य्य-]

2. शामये निर्वतना। उ[स] — प्रतिमा[40] वर्मये धीतु [गुल्हा]ये जयदासस्य कुटुंबिनिये दानं

TRANSLATION.

Success! The pupil of the venerable Jeshṭahasti (*Jyeshṭhahastin*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmadâsika *kula*, the Uchchenâgarî *śâkhâ* and the - ârina *sambhoga* (*was*) the venerable Mahala; the pupil of the venerable Jeshṭahasti (*Jyeshṭhahastin*) (*was*) the venerable Gâḍhaka; at the request of his female pupil, the venerable Śâmâ, (*was dedicated*) an image of Usabha (*Ṛishabha*), the gift of Gulhâ, the daughter of Varmâ (*and*) the wife of Jayadâsa.

No. XV.[41]

— शे[42] एत[स्यां] पूर्व्वायां कोट्टियातो गणातो . . . .

TRANSLATION.

..... On that (*date, specified as*) above, out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* . . . . .

No. XVI.[43]

L. 1. . . . . अरहंतानं[44] वधमानस्य [क]लस्य[45] धितु[46] सिनविषुस्य भ[स्रि]न[ा]य[47]

2. . . . . [श]ति]स्य र[नव]र्तनं [॥]

[32] Regarding चुणे, see above, No. V, note 73, p. 375.

[33] Compare the उच्चेनागरी शाखा, and see above, p. 369.

[34] Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 7 inches; from the same place.

[35] The stops are throughout expressed by horizontal strokes.

[36] The second syllable is much injured and its vowel not certain.

[37] Possibly, but not probably •महुलो. The last three syllables of the following word are uncertain, with the exception of स•.

[38] The consonant of the first syllable and the vowel of the second are doubtful.

[39] The first syllable may also be read differently.

[40] Restore उसभप्रतिमा.

[41] Incised on the broken base, under the left knee of what has been a seated Jina; stone 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; found at the same place.

[42] This must be the remnant either of विंशे or of त्रिंशे.

[43] Incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina; 2 feet 7 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; same locality.

[44] A very indistinct letter, possibly मा, is visible at the beginning of the line. Hence I propose to restore [प्रतिमा]. The lost portion of the inscription no doubt stood on the other side of the pedestal.

[45] The vowel of the first letter is doubtful, as the top of the sign is damaged.

[46] The *u*-stroke seems to be connected with the left-hand limb of *ta*.

[47] The second sign is very doubtful; I suppose भगिनीय is meant.

TRANSLATION.

..... [*an image*] of the worshipful[48] *Arhat* Vadhamâna, [*the gift*] of . . . . . the daughter of Kala, the sister(?) of Sinavishu (*Vishṇushena*?); the request of . . . . . Śati (?).

No. XVII.[49]

L. 1. — मा अहंतानं[50] श्रमणश्राविका[ये][51]
2. — लहस्तिनीये तोरणं प्रति[ष्ठापि][52]
3. सह माता पितिहि सह[53]
4. सश्रू —[54] श्शुरेण[55]

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhats! A *Toraṇa* has been erected by order of . . lahastinî (*Balahastinî*), a lay-pupil of the ascetics, together with her parents, together with her mother-in-law (*and*) her father-in-law.[56]

No. XVIII.[57]

L. 1. सिद्धं [सं] — — — — [दि] ५[58] एतस्यं पू[र्व्वायं]
2. भगवतो नागेन्द्रस्य दधिकर्णस्य स्त[ा]-
3. ने शिलापट्टो प्रतिष्टापितो माथुरा[णं]
4. शैलालकानं चान्दका भ्रतृका इति वि[ष्टू-]
5. यमानानं तेषं पुत्रेहि नन्दिबलप्र-
6. मुखेहि दारकेहि मातापितृणं अग्र-
7. प्रत्यशताये भवतु सर्व्वसत्वा[नं हित-]
8. सुखा[र्थं] भवतु [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year....., on the fifth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, a stone slab was set up in the place sacred[59] to the divine lord of snakes Dadhikarṇṇa by the boys, chief among whom was Nandibala, the sons of the actors[60] of Mathurâ, who are being praised as the Chândaka brothers. May (*the merit of this gift*) be by preference[61] for their parents; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!

[48] "Worshipful" is expressed by the *pluralis majestatis arahaṁtânaṁ* construed with the singular *Vadhamânasa*.

[49] Incised on the upper portion of a sculptured Toraṇa, 9 feet 2 inches by 1 foot.

[50] Read नमो अरहंतान.

[51] The last letter is blurred.

[52] Read प्रतिष्ठापितं. Possibly more letters have been lost at the ends of lines 1 and 2.

[53] Lines 4 and 5 stand between three figures of Toraṇas.

[54] Possibly the reading is सश्रूश्र, *i. e.*, श्वश्रू.

[55] *I. e.*, श्वशुरेण.

[56] The association of the parents and of the parents-in-law is probably intended to secure for them a share of the scriptural merit. Compare the analogous phrases in the Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 (*Archæological Surv. Rep. W. Ind.*, vol. V, page 79ff.) and in other Buddhist documents.

[57] Incised on a large sandstone slab, 3 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, found on the floor of a brick stûpa, 47 feet in diameter, to the east of the first Jaina temple, on the east of the Tîla. Well preserved, with the exception of the loss of the date and of slight injuries at the right end of the lines, which, however, do not make any letter really doubtful.

[58] Not more than four signs have been lost; the tail only of दि is visible. After the half-preserved सं appear the lower portions of two numeral signs.

[59] *Stâna*, which stands for Sanskrit *sthâna*, may also mean "temple."

[60] I take *śailâlaka* as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *śailâlin*; see above, p. 381.

[61] Regarding the meaning of *agrapratyaśatâye*, *i. e.*, *agrapratyaṁśatâye*, see above, p. 241, note 21.

No. XIX.[62]

L. 1. [सिद्धम् ॥]महाराजस्य राजातिराज्ञ देवपुत्रस्य षाहिकणिष्कस्य[63] सं ७ हे १ दि १० ५ एतस्य पूर्व्वायां अर्य्योदेहिकियातो

2. गणातो अर्य्यनागभुतिकियातो कुलातो गणिस्य अर्य्यबुद्धशिरिस्य शिष्यो वाचको अर्य्यस[न्धि]-कस्य भगिनि अर्य्यजया अर्य्यगोष्ठ — — —

Translation.

Success! In the year 7 of the great king, supreme king of kings, the son of the gods, Shâhi Kaṇishka, in the first (*month of*) winter, on the fifteenth day,—on the (*lunar day specified*) above, the preacher Aryya[sandh]ika, the pupil of the *gaṇin* Aryya-Buddhaśiri (*Ârya-Buddhaśrî*) of the Aryyodehikiya (*Ârya-Uddehikîya*) school (*and*) of the Aryya-Nâgabhutikiya (*Ârya-Nâgabhûtikîya*) line of teachers, his sister Aryya-Jayâ (*Ârya-Jayâ*), Aryya-Goshṭha . . . . . .

No. XX.[64]

[सि]द्धं सं २० (?)[२] ग्रि २ दि ७ वर्धमानस्य प्रतिमा वारणातो गणातो पेतिवामि[क]—

Translation.

Success! In the year 22 (?), in the second (*month of*) summer, on the seventh day,—a statue of Vardhamâna, from the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, from the Petivâmik[a *kula*] . . . .

No. XXI.[65]

L. 1. — धम् सव ५० ४[66] हेमंतमासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे १० अ-

2. स्य पुर्व्वायां कोट्टियातो [ग]णातो स्थानि[य]तो कुलातो

3. वैरातो शाखातो श्रीगृह[ा]तो[67] संभोगातो वाचकस्यार्य्य-

4. [ह]स्तहस्तिस्य शिष्यो गणिस्य अर्य्यमाघहस्तिस्य अद्धचरो[68] वाचकस्य अ-

5. र्य्यदेवस्य निर्व्वर्त्तने गोवस्य सीहपुत्रस्य लोहिककारुकस्य दानं

6. सर्व्वसत्वानां हितसुखा एकसरस्वती प्रतीष्ठाविता अवतलि रङ्गान[र्त्तन]ो

7. मे [॥]

Translation.

Success! In the year 54 (?), in the fourth, 4, month of winter, on the tenth day,—on the (*lunar day specified*) as above, one (*statue of*) Sarasvatî, the gift of the smith Gova, son of Sîha, (*made*) at the instance of the preacher (*vâchaka*) Aryya-Deva, the

[62] These inscriptions, Nos. xix—xxii, were discovered by Dr. Burgess on first commencing the excavation at Kaṅkâlî Tîla. No. xix is from the base of a large seated Jina, 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, found on the south-east of Kaṅkâlî Tîla, February 1888. I do not reprint the notes given in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*. The notes now given contain additional corrections.

[63] The former transcript gave, by a *lapsus calami*, *Kanishkasya*, though the lingual *ṇa* is very distinct.

[64] On the base of a seated Jina, 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, found near the same place. The second line is lost.

[65] On the base of a seated image of Sarasvatî, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 3½ inches, found near the first temple on the south-east of the mound.

[66] The former transcript gave the first figure as 80. On comparing the date of Mr. Growse's No. 5, which is given in words and figures, I think it more probable that the sign is intended for 50.

[67] Formerly read *Śrîguh[â]to*; but see above, p. 372.

[68] Formerly read *śraddhacharî*.

śraddhacharo of the *gaṇin* Aryya-Mâghahasti, the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Hastahasti, from the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Sthâniya *kula*, the Vairâ *śâkhâ* and the Śrîgriha *sambhoga*,—has been set up for the welfare of all beings. In the *avatala* my stage dancer(?).

No. XXII.[69]

L. 1. [f]सहं सं ९० ५ (?) ग्रि २ दि १० ८ कोट्टि[य]तो गणातो ठानियातो कुलातो वइर[ातो
शा]खातो अर्य्य अरह — — —

2. ग्रिशिनि धाम[था]ये निर्वर्तन[ा][70] ग्रहदतस्य धि[तु] धनहथि[71] — — —

Translation.

Success! In the year 95 (?), in the second (*month of*) summer, on the 18th day,—at the request of Dhâmathâ (?), the female pupil of Aryya-Araha[dinna] from the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, from the Ṭhâniya *kula*, from the Vaïrâ *śâkhâ* . . . . [*the gift*] of . . . the daughter of Grahadata, the wife of Dhanahathi (*Dhanahastin*) . . .

No. XXIII.[72]

वारणातो गणातो अर्यकनियसिकातो कुलातो ओद — — —

Translation.

From the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, from the worshipful Kaniyasika *kula*, [from the] Od ... (*śâkhâ*) . . .

No. XXIV.[73]

L. 1. [सिध][74] महरजस्य वासुदेवस्य सं ८० हण[75] व १ दि १२ एतस पूर्व्वायां — — — — —

2. धितु संघनधि[स्य] वधुये बलस्य — — — — —

Translation.

[Hail!] In the year 80 of Mahârâja Vâsudeva, ... in the first month of the rainy season, on the twelfth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above, the daughter of ... . the daughter-in-law of Saṁghanadhi (?), the ..... of Bala,.....

No. XXV.[76]

— — — — र्षमासे १ दीवसे ३० अस्मि क्षु — — — —[77]

[69] On the upper part of a sculptured panel, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 8 inches; the panel has carved on it a stûpa and four worshippers, one being a Nâga. From the south-east part of the mound.

[70] The third letter is doubtful.

[71] Possibly धनहठि.

[72] Discovered by Dr. Führer on January 20th, 1889, incised on a broken panel 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot 5 inches.

[73] On the base of a seated Jina (head lost), 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, found in the north-east of the mound near the first temple.

[74] I do not feel certain whether this seeming letter is not some kind of ornament. If it is a letter, it is probably a monogram for सिद्धं.

[75] This might be read हम, but the lower stroke seems to belong to the letter धि in line 2, and in No. IX we have हन before गृह्य.

[76] Incised on the middle portion of the base of a statue, 10 inches by 12 inches, found near the first temple.

[77] Restore वर्षमासे and क्षुणे.

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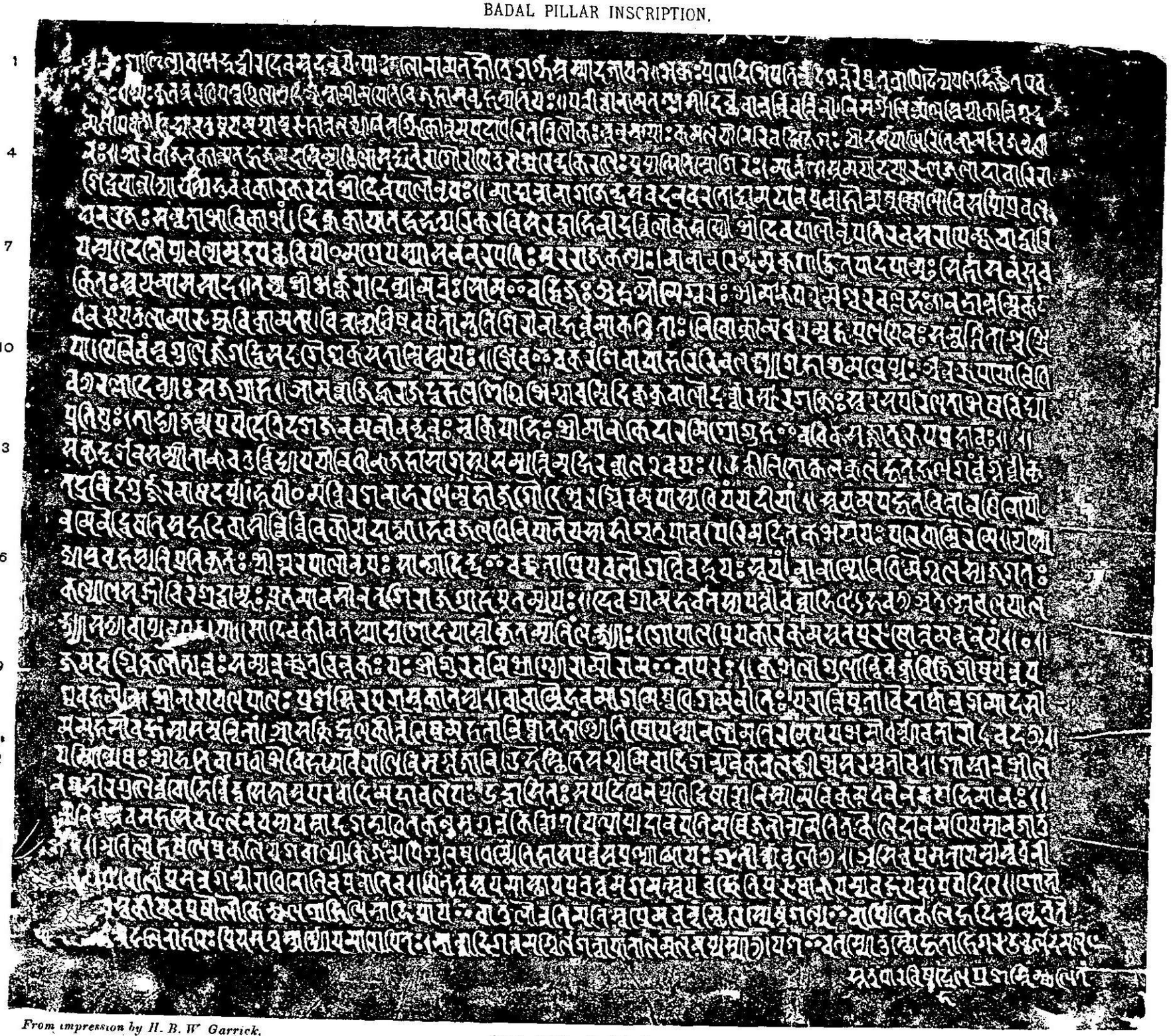
PAPERS ON HAND.

Copper-plate grant of Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, dated (Gupta) Saṁvat 158; by A. Führer, Ph.D.
Two copper-plate grants and a stone image inscription of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1208, 1209, and 1210 respectively; by the same.
Further Inscriptions from Sanchi; by Prof G. Bühler, LL.D., Ph.D., C.I.E.
Srîdhara's Verâwal Praśasti; by the same.
The Rock-Edicts of Aśoka; by the same.
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions from the Panjab; by Dr. Paul Horn, Ph.D.
Persian Sanads; by the same.
Chitorgaḍh inscription of Mokala of Mewaḍ; by Prof. F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.
" " of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, Saṁ. 1207, by the same.
Notes; by Professors Bühler and Leumann.
Tables for calculating Hindu dates in true local time; by Prof. H. Jacobi, Ph.D., Bonn.



From impression by H. B. W. Garrick.

Scale: 3-8ths of original.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 160.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
SHIMOGA DISTRICT
Inward

XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pârvatî with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pârvatî, and the bull, is written *Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva*.[1] The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gâṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-râja-deva."

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.[2] Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,[3] and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1′4″ broad by 11½″ high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ⅝″ in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

[1] I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

[2] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

[3] I have to thank my friend Professor Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit. Excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śiváya* and the words *kim=vâpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrî* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshâtaṁ*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, *e.g.*, in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyaṇaishît*), line 10, *dur jjasaḥ* (for *duryyaśaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *ânṛinya*, line 8, and *kârunya*, line 20, and instead of *anusvâra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anusvâra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaliṅga, the illustrious Karṇadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karṇadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṁhadeva in the Lâl-Pahâḍ rock inscription [4] of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant [5] of the *Mahârâṇaka* Kîrtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasiṁhadeva's son Vijayasiṁhadeva in the Kumbhî copper-plate grant [6] of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karṇadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarṇadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant [7] [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state [8] that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaliṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Teliṅgana; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vâmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

[4] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṁhadeva, Jayasiṁhadeva and Vijayasiṁhadeva add *nijabhujopârjit-âśvapati-gajapati-narapati-râjatrayâdhipati*, after *Trikaliṅgâdhipati*.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

[6] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

[7] See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva .

[8] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripurî or Ratnapur mention a prince Vâmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karṇadeva from his camp of victory,[9] located at a place the name of which looks like Svasâga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son [10] (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahâpramâtâra*[11]) and others, that, having bathed in the river Veṇî, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gâṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, he has granted the village of Susi [12] (or Susî) to the learned Viśvarûpa,—a son of Nârâyaṇa, grandson of Vâmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vâjasaneya *śâkhâ*, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarâta and Vaiśvâmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesâla. Karṇadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susî to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Veṇî, near which Karṇadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasâga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangâ of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nâgpur.[13] The villages of Susî and Vesâla[14] I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January[15] A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Âśvina-śudi 1 [16]) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Âśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pûrṇimânta*

[9] The Saṁskṛit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-kaṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya-kaṇṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gâṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

[10] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, where, instead of *mahâdevîṁ mahârâjaputraṁ*, we have *mahârâjñîśrî*(?)-*mahâkumâraśrî-Ajayasiṁhadeva*.

[11] See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

[12] The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

[13] See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

[14] I hardly think that Vesâla could be the ancient Vaiśâlî, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

[15] On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna ended 17*h*. 9*m*. after mean sunrise.

[16] Writing at Nâgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: '*The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Âśvina*; but, opening in the midst of Durgâ's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*saṁvat* 793 *Phâlguna-vadi* 9 *Some*, —is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karṇadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 *h.* 15 *m.* after mean sunrise, and ended 5 *h.* 49 *m.* after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.[17] I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karṇadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*oṁ oṁ*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.[18] It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kârtavîrya, the vanquisher of the demon Râvaṇa;[19] and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kârtavîrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.[20]

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharâja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and to the king Śaṁkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarâja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,[21] I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II. also bore the name Kṛishṇa-vallabha,[22] and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

[17] On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3*h.* 7*m.* after mean sunrise.

[18] The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, above, page 19.

[19] See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

[20] This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

[21] See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

[22] See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishṇarâja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śrî-vallabha; and it is just possible that *he* may be the Vallabharâja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharâja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Kṛishṇarâja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakûṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhaṇḍ[23] which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshâdeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipâladeva of Kanauj[24] for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva[25] was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛishṇa-vallabha. Lastly, the Śaṁkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmî was married[26] by Kṛishṇa-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us[27] that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurî, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas;* and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śaṁkaragaṇa, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,[28] that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Nâṭṭâ or Naṭṭadevî, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavala (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bâlaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,[29] Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva, who married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavala and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bâlaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavala) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarâjadeva, informs us[30] that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

[23] See Sir A Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

[24] See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

[25] See *ib.*, page 124.

[26] See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

[27] See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

[28] *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

[29] See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

[30] See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.

The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarâjadeva's son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṁkaragaṇadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kârîtalâî inscription [31] has preserved the name of Lakshmaṇarâja's wife, Râhaḍâ; and the Bilhari inscription records [32] that Lakshmaṇarâja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarât. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarâjadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva.[33] As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmaṇarâja's daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of Tailapa [34] who restored the Western Châlukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *praśasti*,[35] Yuvarâja was defeated and his capital Tripurî conquered by Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.[36]

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarâjadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gâṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gâṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva,[37] also bore the name Vikramâditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayâga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'[38] Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription[39] he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gâṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Ḍâhâla (or Chedi) by Alberûnî,[40] in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,[41] is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapâla,[39] who had ceased to rule [42] before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gâṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,[43] besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇâvatî, and that at Kâśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî [44] represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pâṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kîras and Hûṇas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva[45] makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hûṇa, Gauḍa, Gûrjara and Kîra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

[31] See above, p. 175.
[32] See *ante*, vol. I, page 268.
[33] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.
[34] See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.
[35] See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.
[36] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.
[37] See above, page 6.
[38] I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gâṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Svasâ*]-*ga-samâvâsita* (*cf* l. 33 of the copper-plate).
[39] See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14.
[40] See Sachau's Translation of Alberûnî's *India*, vol. I, page 202.
[41] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.
[42] The copper-plate of Vijayapâla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.
[43] See above, page 6.
[44] See above, page 15.
[45] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,[46] it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nâgpur *praśasti*[47] Udayâditya of Mâlava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇâṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions[48] report of Kîrtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Saṁskṛit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra[49] eulogizes Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhaṇa,[50] who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kâlañjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî[51] and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs[52] in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurî by Lakshmadeva of Mâlava, the son and successor of Udayâditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nâgpur *praśasti*.[53] The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godâvarî;[54] and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champâraṇya.[55]

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayâkarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription[56] dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasiṁha had already been appointed *Yuvarâja*. Gayâkarṇa (or Gayakarṇa) married[57] Alhaṇadevî,

[46] See above, page 2.

[47] See above, page 192.

[48] See *ante*, vol. I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogaḍh rock inscription of Kîrtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

[49] See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

[50] See *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

[51] See above, page 2.

[52] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

[53] See above, page 193, verse 39.

[54] See above, page 7, verse 23.

[55] See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champâraṇya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godâvarî river.

[56] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

[57] See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.

a daughter of the king Vijayasiṁha,—a son of Vairisiṁha, who was a son of Haṁsapâla of the Guhila family of Mewâḍ,—and his wife Śyâmaladevî, a daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava. And Alhaṇadevî bore to him two sons, Narasiṁhadeva and Jayasiṁhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasiṁhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,[58] dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasiṁhadeva's reign three inscriptions[59] have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasiṁhadeva married[60] Gosaladevî, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasiṁhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,[61] of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasiṁha's son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Ḍâhâla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śaṁkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Naṭṭâ.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala.
3. His son Bâlaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva I.; married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva; married Râhaḍâ. His daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of the Western Châlukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śaṁkaragaṇadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II.; contemporary of Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gâṅgeyadeva-Vikramâditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberûnî (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapâla.
10. His son Karṇadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayâditya of Mâlava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kîrtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî.
11. His son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayâkarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhaṇadevî, a daughter of Vijayasiṁha of Mewâḍ and grand-daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava.
13. His son Narasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

[58] See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

[59] See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.

[60] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.

[61] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104.

14. His younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevî.

15. His son Vijayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.[62]

First Plate.

L. 1. ओं[63] [॥×] श्रीं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥
निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥[64]—[1].
यद्देधस्थितमव्य[यं][65] प-
2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिस्सि(शि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं ।[66]
सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो[67] यस्य स्फुरंत्यूर्म्मयः [।×]
सर्व्वज्ञान[म×]यो व(ब)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्म्मानसो
यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-
3. णवती स्त्रीपुन्निमित्ता ततः ।(॥)[68] —[2].
देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्रा
हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(बि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्ते(स्ते)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [।×]
दोर्द्दण्डा-
4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाह-
व्याधौतत्यक्तपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववस्व[69] ।(॥)[70] —[3].
यस्य भ्रूभ[ङ्ग×]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्लि[ष्ट]-
5. भावे प्रतिपं[71]
आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खातसृं(शृं)गाग्रभित्तेः ।
आ चः[72] प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीका-
दाम्भोधेर्द्दक्षिणाच्च [स्फु]-
6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4].
तद्वन्सप्रभवा[73] नरेंद्रपतयः ख्याता[:×] क्षितौ हैहया-
स्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।
धर्म्मध्यानध-

[62] From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

[63] Expressed by a symbol.

[64] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228.

[65] This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देधा स्थित°.

[66] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[67] The *akshara* in brackets looks in the impression like डो.

[68] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[69] Read ववन्थ.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

[70] Metre of verses 3 and 4: Sragdharâ.

[71] Read दधति नृपतयः क्लिष्टमारे प्रतिष्ठाम् (?).

[72] Read च.

[73] Read तद्वंश°.

L. 7. नानू(नु)संधितमुखः सखत्स[तां][74] सौत्र(ख्य)क-
श्रेयास(न्म)र्व्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोक्कलः[75] ।(॥)[76] —[5].
सम्यक्सा(क्या)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्म्माय योगाय च
इष्टा-

8. पूर्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥(।)
आनृन्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सद्वंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा
ज्ञानाभ्यासवसान्मुमुक्षपदवीमंतें[77] च यः प्राप्तवान् ।(॥) —[6].
भोजे व-

9. [क्षभ]राजे[78] श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।
स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज×]नि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ।(॥)[79] —[7].
सचिमिवेन्द्र[:×][80] कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।
चन्देल्लवसप्रभवा[81]

10. सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्ज्जनैषित्[82] ॥[83] —[8].
उद्दामदर्प्पद्विषतो जयन्तं क(कं)दर्प्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।
अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-

11. मारम् ।(॥) —[9]
नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्व्वी(र्व्वी) धवलः स राजा ।
वोढु[84] धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].
एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-

12. सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता
भक्ष्यार्थ(र्थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।
चारित्राय ददौ(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह×]ल्यामृतौ
वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभू[दौ]-

13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः पदं ॥[85] —[11].
किम्वापरेण[86] ।
होहिन्ति एत्थ व(वं)से पुरिसा एहइयगारवमहग्घा [।×]
इअ हाविऊण जेणं पालीण परिग(ग)हो गहिओ ॥[87] —[12].
तत्सु(त्सू)नुः ख्यात-

[74] Read श्रद्धत्सतां.

[75] Read श्रीमानभूत्को°.—The word कोक्कलः offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double *l* is correct.

[76] Metre of verses 5 and 6: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

[77] Read °वशान्मुमुक्षुपदवी°.

[78] Originally क्षराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the *aksharas* क्ष and रा.

[79] Metre: Âryâ.

[80] Read शचीमिवेन्द्रः.

[81] Read °वंशप्रभवां सुशीलां.

[82] Read °देवीं स तु पर्यणैषीत्.

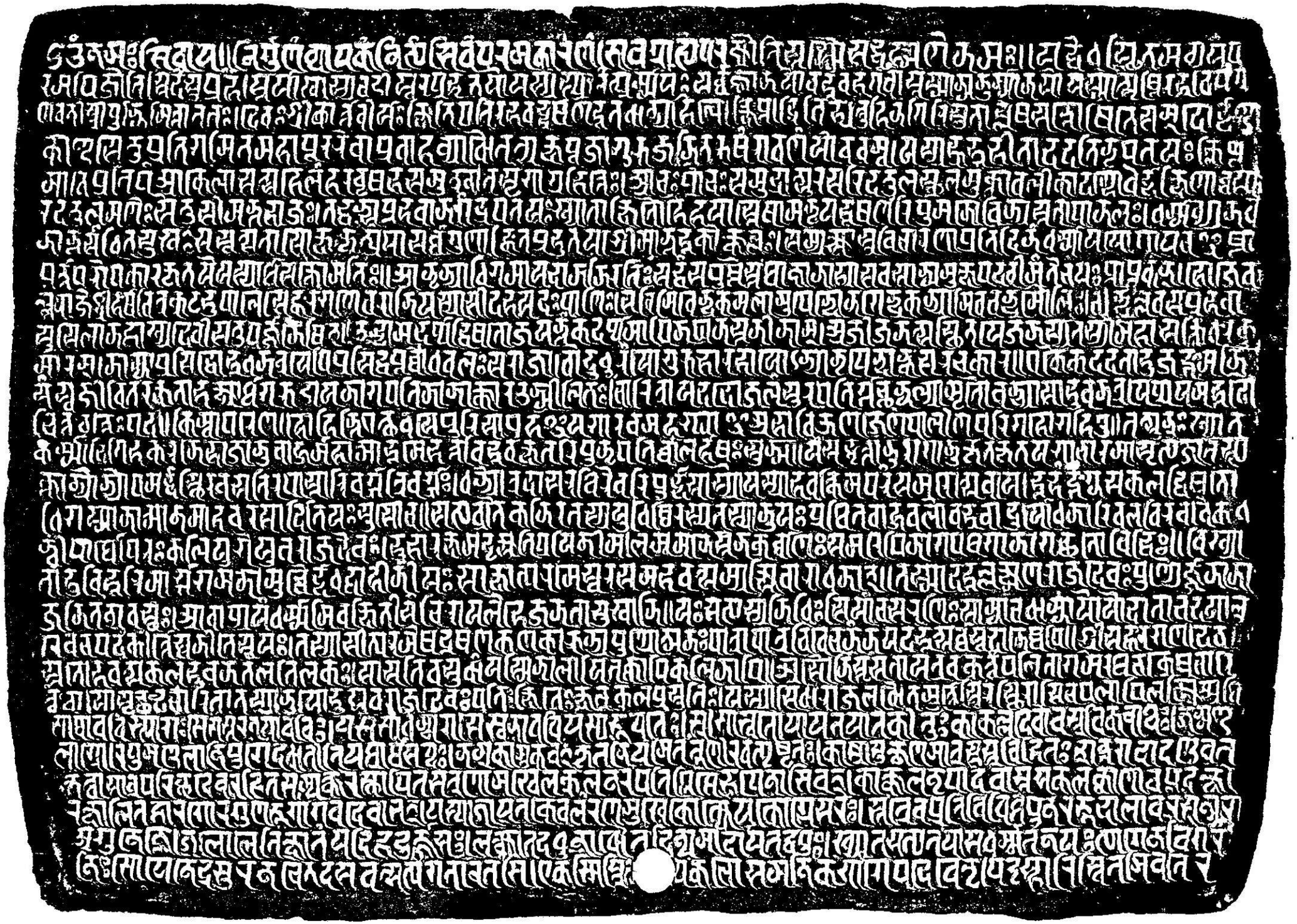
[83] Metre of verses 8-10: Upajâti.

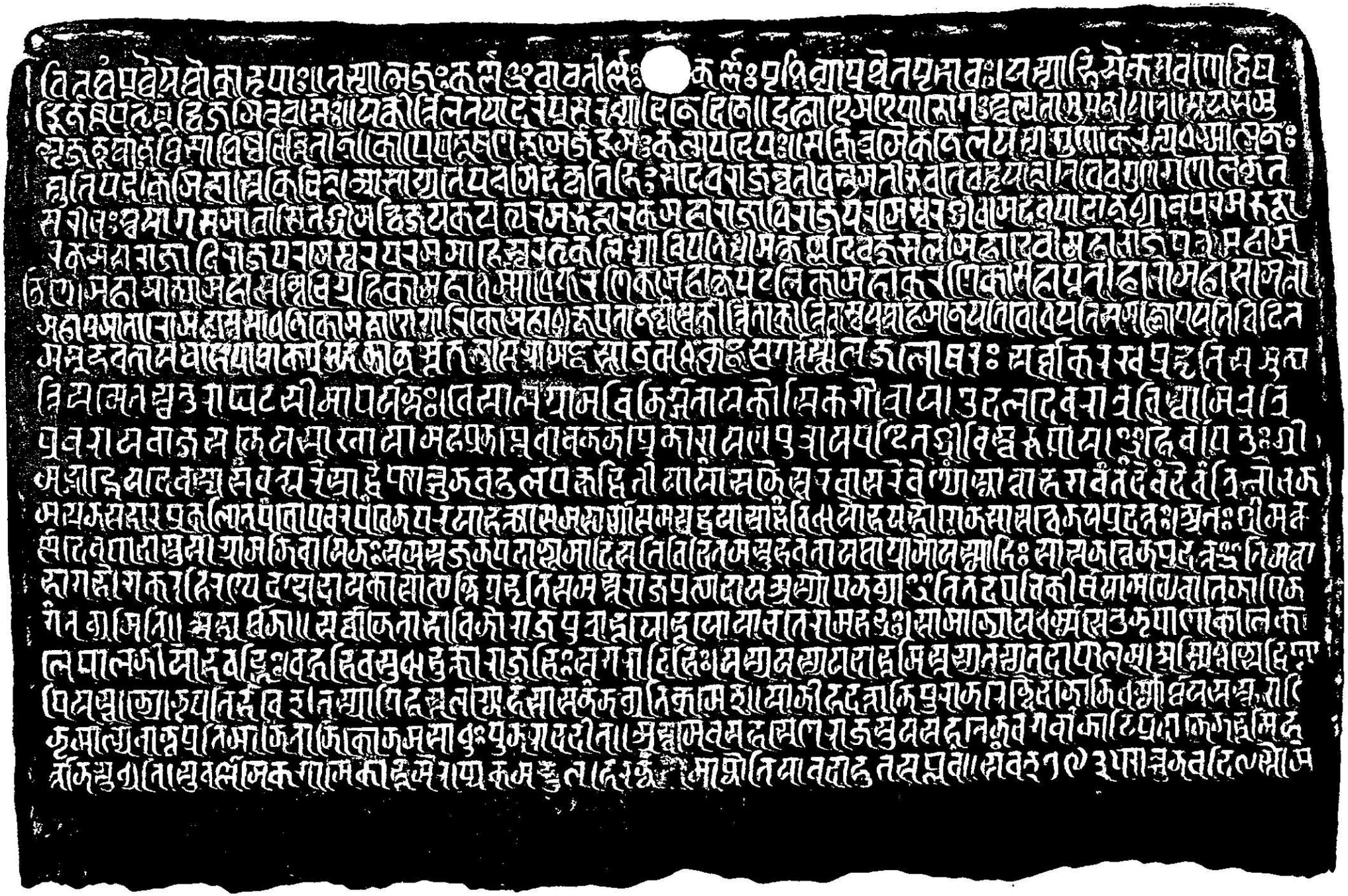
[84] I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वोढु probably should be वीढुं, and the fourth Pâda may be योऽन्यान्नृपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

[85] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[86] Read किं वापरेण.

[87] Metre: Âryâ. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पाली is given as a synonym of दिश् in Hemachandra's *Deśînâmamâlâ*, VI, 37.





From impressions supplied by R. T. H. Griffith, M.A., to Gen. Cunningham.

Scale: 2-3rds of original.

L. 14. कर्म्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा)हुर्महात्मा
भूमेभ(र्भ)र्त्ता व(ब)भूव क्षतरिपुनृपतिर्व्वा(ब्बी)लहर्षः सु[ज×]न्मा ।
यं सहृत्तानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमास्थ(श्रि)त्य जात-
स्य-

15. क्षान्योन्योपमर्द्दं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गः ।(॥)[88] —[13].
धन्योत्र दास(श)रथिरेव रिपुर्द्दसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्क्षिमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।
भ्रूभङ्ग[भ×]ग्नसकलद्विषतो

16. धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति यः सुसोच[89] ॥[90] —[14].
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज): प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव ।
दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17. न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः ।(॥) —[15].
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्स(क्षु)तिप्र[ण×]यिनीमालम्ब(ब्ब)मानस्तन(नुं)
कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्वि[ष×]: ॥(।)
विख्या-

18. तां भुवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्द्दधद्वाहिनीं
यः साक्षात्परमेस्त्र(श्व)र[:×] समभवत्सम्यक्त्रि(क्रि)वाराधनात् ॥[91] —[16].
तस्मादभूल्लक्ष्मणराजदेवः पुण्यौ(ण्ये)र्ज्जनाना(नां)

19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्म्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥[92] —[17].
यः सत्यस्य निधिः स्त्रि(श्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च×] यो
यो दाता च दयालु-

20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तेस्(श्च) नीतेस्(श्च) यः ।
तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[:×] कारुन्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मनः
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सव्वस्वदानेष्वपि ॥[93]—[18].
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-

21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः ।
सा(शा)सति वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनापि ॥[94] —[19].
असौ निस्तृंसता[95]यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [।×]
रथचक्रेषु चारि-[96]

22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥×][97] —[20].
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षितेः क्ष[त्र]कुलप्रसु(सू)तिः ।
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतसु(सू)र्त्तेस्त्रि(श्रि)रं स्त्रिरासि(सी)च(च्च)पलापि लक्ष्मि[98][॥×][99]—[21].
अर्थि-

[88] Metre : Sragdharâ.
[89] Read शुशोच.
[90] Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakâ.
[91] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[92] Metre : Upajâti.
[93] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[94] Metre : Âryâ.
[95] Read निस्त्रिंशता.
[96] *Aritva*, derived from either *arin* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'
[97] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[98] Read लक्ष्मीः.
[99] Metre : Upajâti.

L. 23. सा[र्थी]वधिस्त्याग: सेसं सूरजयावधि:[100] ।
यस(श)सा(सां) धर्म्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्व) नावधिर्यस्य भूपते: ।(॥) [1]—[22].
स्रीसास्वतोयायत[2] यातकीर्तु: काकल्लदेवो वस्वधिकनाथ: ।
ज(य)न्मण्ड-

24. लाग्रो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श)व्द(ब्द): ।(॥)[3] —[23].
नम्र[4] कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत: ।
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहित: [भ्रा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [।×]

25. कृत्वा सा[व्र]परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्क[रे] स्थापित
सत्रणामखेल कुल नरपति[यिथेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)[5]—[24].
काकलनृपादवास्तेसकल[क्का]णी[व]पद[6].
क्षी-

26. रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवाभत्[7] ।
यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(क्षे)यकोग्रेसर: ।[8]
स्त्रत्रेव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुखं?] [॥×][9]—[25].

27. अगुनेज्जोजलोलेति[10] क्षातं यदिह दुर्ज्जस: ।
लक्ष्मा तदधुना धौ[तं] दिव्यमादाय तद्दपु: ॥[11] —[26].
ख्यात[:×] सत्यतया स धर्म्मतनय:[12] त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-

28. नि:
सोयेनेद्रसुर[13] न चैतदसवत्स[त्यं] गता[चे]तसि ।
एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो[14] समनिक गांगेयदेवे नृपे
[दृ]स्त्रा रिस्त्रित[मि]व तेर-[15]

[100] Read शौर्यं शूरजयावधि.

[1] Metre Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Read श्रीमांस्तवोजायत जातकीर्तिः कीकल्लदेवो वसुधैकनाथः.

[3] Metre: Upajâti.

[4] I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following:—

नम्रं कार्मुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितभ्रान्तं च दीर्दण्डवत् ।
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं
शत्रूणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

[5] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[6] For the commencement of this line I would suggest कीकल्लाख्यनृपादपास्तसकलक्षोणीविपद°; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

[7] Read °गाङ्गेयदेवीभवत्.

[8] Read °सरस्त्रत्रेव प्रतिबिम्बितं पुनरभूद°; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

[9] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] Read अस्त्रुधितीयलोलेति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्यशः ।.

[11] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Read °तनयस्त्यागेन.

[13] I would suggest here शौर्येणेन्द्रसुतो न चैतदभवत्सत्यं मतं श्रीदृभिः, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

[14] Read कलौ समधिकं.

[15] I would suggest reading this line दृष्टं निश्चितमेव तैरवितथं पूर्वं यथोक्ता नृपाः. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishṭhira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gâṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.

Second Plate.

L. 29. वितथं पूर्व्वे येयोक्ता भूपाः ॥[16]—[27].

तस्यात्मजः कर्ण्ण इवावतीर्ण्णः कर्ण्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तपृ(प्र)भावः ।

यस्याभिसे(षे)कस्र(श्र)वणा[द्वि]ष-

30. द्भिर्नष्टं प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्ग्गैः ॥[17]—[28].

यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(।)

व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥[18]—[29].

स्वयं समु-

31. त्सृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥ —[30].

स(श)क्तित्रमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्म्मात्मनः

32. स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् ।

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥[19]—[31].

तवे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-

33. स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग[20]समावासितश्रीमद्विजयकय[21]त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-

(श्व)रश्रीवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-

34. रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रतृ(त्रि)कलिंग्या(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्ण्ण-

देव[:×]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं][22] महामं-

35. त्रि[णो] महामात्या[23]महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्म्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-

णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो

36. महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा×]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष[24]एतानन्यांसु(श्च)

कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितासु[25] यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37. म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [हपाथा][26]कासि[भूम्य][26]न्त[र्ग]त[सु]सिग्रामः साम्र(म्र)मधूकः

सगर्त्तस्थलजलोषरः सर्व्वाकरस्व[नि×]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38. त्तिसमेतसु(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।[27]वेसालग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय[28]।[27]श्रोद-

लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रत्रि-[29]

39. प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्वाय ।[27] महप्रनप्त्रे वा[म]ननप्त्रे नारायणपुत्रायं पण्डितश्रीविस्व-

(श्व)रूपाय ।[27] इहैव पितुः श्री-

[16] Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[18] Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[20] Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ग) is quite clear; the first *akshara* might perhaps be read स्व, and the second या.

[21] Read °द्विजयकटकात्परम°.

[22] The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to वान्.

[23] What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामात्य। महासन्धिविग्रहिक, etc. Compare, *e.g.*, the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapâladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.

[24] I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word.

[25] Read °कीर्तितांश्च.

[26] The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated.

[27] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[28] Read कौशिक°.

[29] Read श्रीदलदेवरातवैश्वामित्रत्रि°.

L. 40. मद्राङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे[30]स्राङ्गे फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैस्व(श्व)रवासरे वेण्यां
स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं[31]त्रिलोचन-

41. मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र×]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्चासमस्र(श्र)-
ङ्ग(ङ)या स्रा(श्रा)द्धं विधायोभयभोगेन[32]सासत्वेन[33] यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्क-

42. र्णदेवपादा[:×] सुसीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-
(तां) यथा ग्रामोय[34]स्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा

43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासीत्पन्ति[35]प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्योपनव्या[36]इति
तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न

44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥[37]
सर्व्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुनृ(नृं)पाणा(णां) काले का-

45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)[38]—[32].
व(ब)हुभिव(र्वे)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)[39]—[33].
अस्मिन्वन्मे[40]द्वि[ग्नो?]

46. पि यस्स्रा(श्रा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।
तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि ।

47. नृमाल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि[41]तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[42]—[35].
अस्व(श्व)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(सू)यसहस्रेन[43]च [।×]
गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-

48. र्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ।(॥)[44]—[36].
सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[कां] भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल(लं) ।
हरन्न[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसम्भवं[45]॥—[37].
संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुनवदि ९ सोमे [॥×]

[30] Read संवत्सरश्राङ्गे. [31] Read देवदेवं.

[32] This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially भ and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °यौदकसर्गेण.

[33] Read शासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः. [34] Read °यमस्माभिः.

[35] I would suggest reading °दायाकरोत्पत्ति°. [36] Read °नेतव्या.

[37] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा.

[38] Metre: Śâlinî. [39] Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anushṭubh). [40] Read अस्मिन्वंशे द्वितीयो (?).

[41] Read निर्माल्य. [42] Metre: Indravajrâ. [43] Read °यज्ञतेन.

[44] Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anushṭubh). [45] Read °हृतसंभवम्.

MATHURA SCULPTURES. Plate I.

a

b

AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a).

XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîlâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Âyâgapaṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Âyâgapaṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,[1] which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2′ 8″. At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Triśûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvânlâl's ancient slab,[2] where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

[1] This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

[2] *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142.

pointed out that on another slab Śesha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Triśúlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stúpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotuu, which the Bauddhas usually[3] place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Triśúla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhâ at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Triśúla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Triśúlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junâgaḍh, called Bâwâ Pyârâ's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumlî[4] (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Triśúla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stûpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyâdharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

[3] An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.

[4] Compare also Dr. Bhagvânlâl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome iii, part 2, p. 137. The *Vishṇu Smṛiti* xliii, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Maṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapaṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñâna* and *Bhakti Mârgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus we read *Mah.* I, 109, 13—14.

भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षितं[तः] ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥
स देशः . . . . . .

"That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhîshma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts."

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvânlâl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tîrthaṁkaras.[5] The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Âryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mârga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Âyâgapaṭas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, *viz.*, that a portion of which has been given in fig. *A* of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.[6] A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

[5] The fact that each Tîrthaṁkara has his *Chaityavṛiksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratnasâra*, vol. II, p. 708ff.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 195f.

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Âyâgapaṭas.*[7]

From all these specimens it appears that an *Âyâgapaṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Âyâgapaṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists[8] nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapaṭa*, i.e., *ûrdhvapaṭa*, (see, *e.g.*, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshṭhipaṭṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante*, pp. 34f.), *chaturviṁsatitîrthaṁkarapaṭṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavâ Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminâtha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminâtha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavâ Nemeso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot-troops Hariṇegamesî, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.[9] The reading *Nemeso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Neminâthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhâmâ a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text[10] runs as follows:—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाऋद्धया ताम्यन्ती श्लाघयापि च ।
भामा कोपगृहे गत्वा शिश्ये जर्जरमञ्चके ॥ ८ ॥
तत्रायातश्च कंसारिर्व्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

[7] Possibly the word *âyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *âyâgâ*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

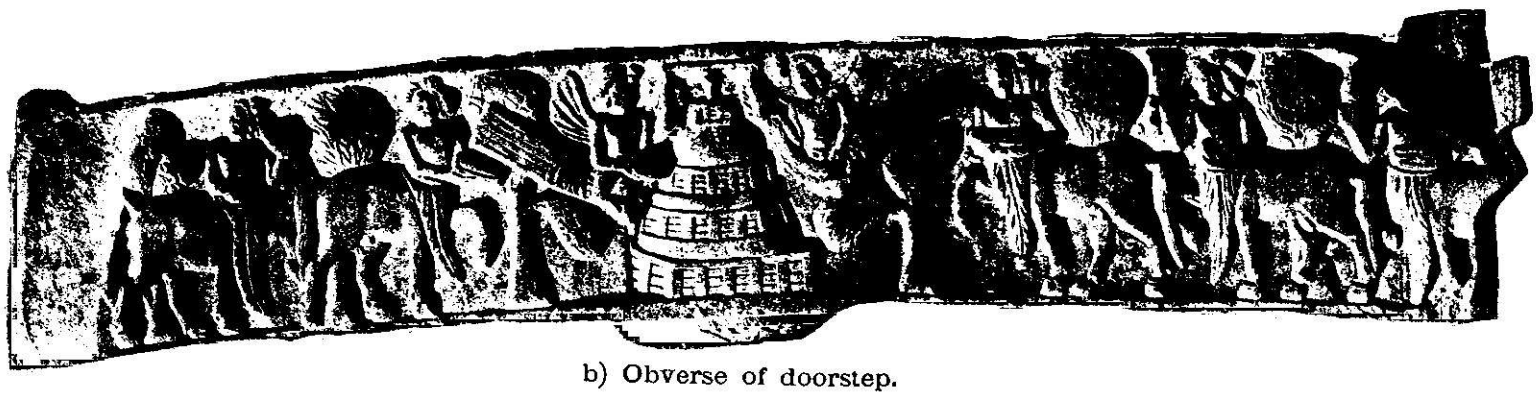
[8] A Buddhist *âyâgapaṭa* was excavated by me in January 1892 at the ancient site of Adhichhattrâ (Râmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihâra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Triśûlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.

[9] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegamesî, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasûtra*.

[10] The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvânlâl Kevaldâs' store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

a.



b) Obverse of doorstep.

c) Reverse of doorstep.

केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[वं] शु[सु]भ्रु ताम्यसि ॥ ९ ॥
भाम्यूचे नास्त्य[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।
न चेन्मे भविता सूनुर्मरिष्यामि तदा ध्रु[ध्रु]वम् ॥ १० ॥
कृष्णत[ष्णस्त]दाग्रहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।
उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तेन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥
आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।
कृष्णोप्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवत्सुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
नैगमेष्यवदय[द्य]स्यां पुत्रेच्छा ते भजेस्व ताम् ।
त्वममुं हारमामोच्य ततो भावीप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
अर्पयित्वा घ्र[ध्र]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।
वासुकं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kaṁsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhâmî answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee?' Kṛishṇa answered: 'Give to Bhâmâ a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vâsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ."

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegamesî, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasûtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahâvîra from the body of the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ to the womb of the Kshatriyâṇî Triśalâ. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegamesî means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasûtra* suggests, "the Negamesî of Hari," *i.e.*, "Negamesî, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negamesî-Naigameshî and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one

ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,[11] which in the *Grihya Sûtras* and the medical *Saṁhitâs* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,[12] particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *leṇa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the Naigamesha or Nejamesha of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease[13] and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging Naigamesha-Naigameshin of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, Naigameya, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of Naigamesha. This Naigameya is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god Skanda, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, quoted in the Dictionary, sub voce *naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhâgavaktra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the Nemeso of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.[14] Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of Naigamesha-Naigameshin, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'[15] and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound Hariṇegamesî, seemingly connected with *hariṇa*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that Naigameshin's position as Indra's general offers another point of contact with Naigameya, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with Skanda, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, Nemesa-Naigameshin's divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of Kṛishṇa), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a Chaurî, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. Nemesa's face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,[16] and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga-*

[11] See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Hariṇegamesî* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, sub voce *Hariṇaigumeshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasûtra*.

[12] For a representation of Naigamesha, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

[13] See, in addition to the passages quoted in the Dictionaries from the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, and the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya*, *Uttarasthâna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

[14] Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brâhmaṇa evince the strongest sexual desires."

[15] I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

[16] Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhâgvânlâl's slab from Mathurâ.

vâ "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tîrthaṁkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavâ* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears ear-rings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sârî*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tîrthaṁkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandâ and Triśalâ. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasûtra*,[17] is briefly this,—" When Indra became aware that Mahâvîra had taken the form of an embryo in the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesî, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahâvîra from the body of Devanandâ to Triśalâ, a lady of the Jñâtṛi family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesî then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrâma, took Mahâvîra from Devanandâ, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Triśalâ's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahâvîra in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandâ and placed Triśalâ's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out."

As our slab represents Naigameshî-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,— probably Indra,— who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription "divine" . . . ., is no doubt meant for Mahâvîra, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Triśalâ, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

[17] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasûtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Triśalâ and No. 3 Devanandâ, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Triśalâ seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasûtra*, where Negamesî is said to have taken Mahâvîra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two relievos on plate II, *B* and *C*, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkâlî mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, *A*, represents the worship of a Stûpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kiṁnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stûpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stûpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stûpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate XXVIII, fig. 1).[18] But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals[19] are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayâ and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a '*syce*,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pâlanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi relievos.[21] Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Toraṇa*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikâs*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

[18] Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

[19] See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Hœrnle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 85ff.

[21] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.

open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teazes by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.[22] In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel ?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pîṭhikâ*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (Pâdukâs ?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (shighram) very similar to that on plate *II*, C., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses ?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Haṁsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the Haṁsa is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyâbha to the Ambasâlavaṇa Chaitya mention them

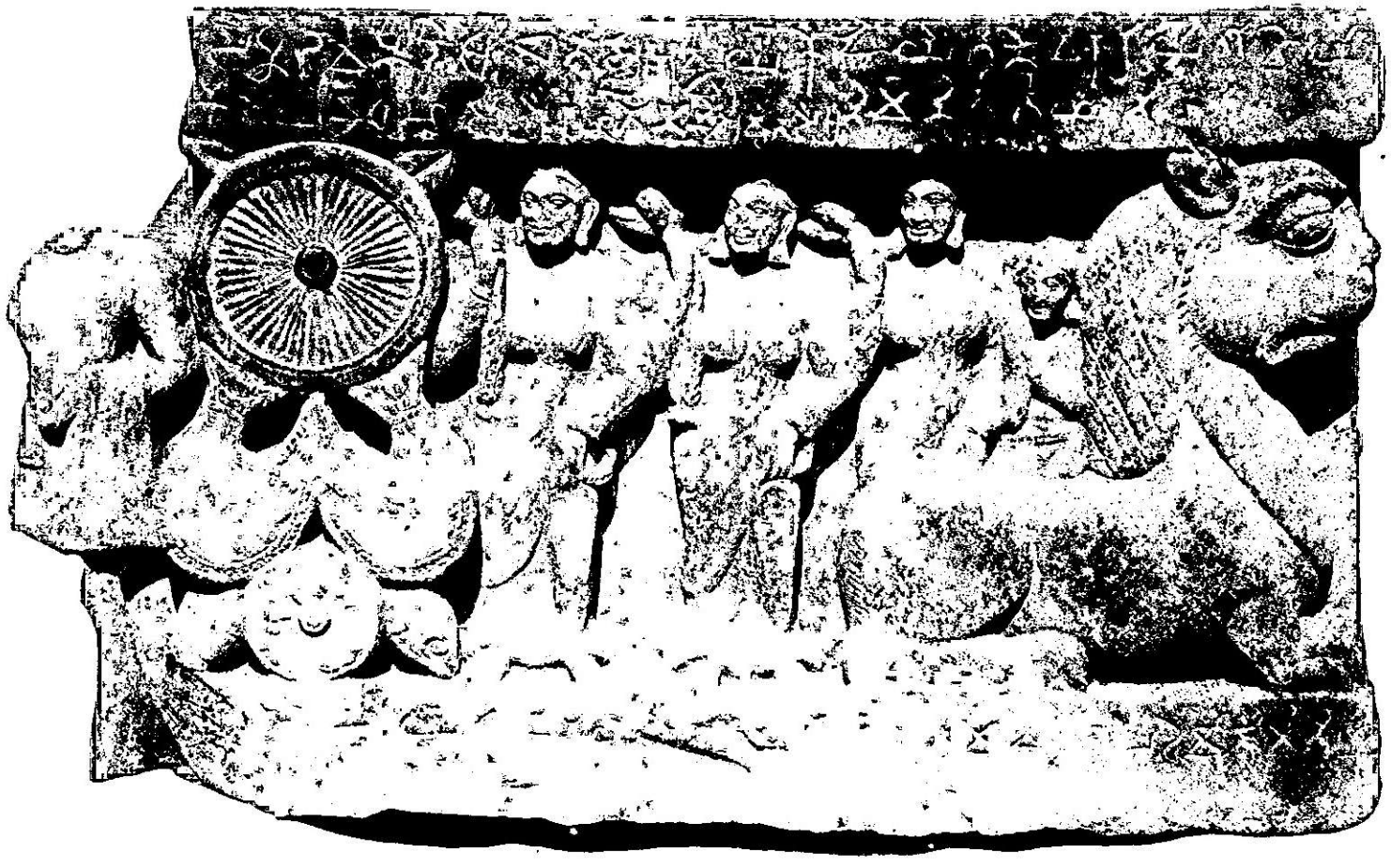
[22] On the Amarâvatî Stûpa, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a Makara's tongue.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

b) Reverse of Toraṇa.

a) Obverse of Toraṇa.

MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES.



distinctly as requisites of worship.[23] Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.[24] Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,[25] where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tîrthaṁkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Toraṇa must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tîrthaṁkaras, to their Stûpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions :[26]—

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as* above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* and the Vaïrâ *śâkhâ* gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Ṇandiâvarta (*Ara*) . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinâ (*Dattâ*), wife of . . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Triśûla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarâvatî Stûpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śaṅkhas*,[26] which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

[23] See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Râyapaseṇijja Sutta, Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

[24] See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

[25] *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate[1], Fig. 1-2.

[26] *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 195f.

[27] The Śaṅkhas have probably been added *maṅgalârtham*.

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *râshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, *i.e.*, rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakraṁ pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' *i.e.*, 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahâbhârata* where they occur. It is said of Bhîshma, *Mah.* I., 109, 14:—

भीष्मेण विहितं राष्ट्रे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhîshma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah.* XII, 356, 2:—

यत्र पूर्वाभिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।
नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nâga, lies on the bank of the Gomatî in the Naimisha *forest*, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahâbhârata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharmachakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkâlî Tîla teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archæology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archæological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stûpas or Vihâras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjunî belonged to the Vaishṇava Âjîvikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Leṇas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhaṭṭiproḷu Stûpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.[1]

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows :—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *â*, *â*, *u*, *o* and the consonants, *k*, *kh*, *chh*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ṇ*, *t*, *th*, *dh*, *n*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *y*, *r*, *v*, *s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *magesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ḍ*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pâsaṁḍa* (Kâlsî version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *aṁbâvaḍikâ*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *d*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.* :—

(*a*) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chhâ*, *ḍha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

[1] See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 148.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ḍa* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghavá*, i.e., *Vyâghrapâd* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chaṅga* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Ṛikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(*b*) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rájá*, Girnâr Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, *minus* the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (*e.g.*, I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majúsa*, i.e., *mañjúshá*.

(*c*) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samaṇa* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Máho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Mágha*, etc.

(*d*) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍála* or *Audâra*, *Gilâṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glâna*, *Gosálakánaṁ* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośálakânâm*, and so forth.

(*e*) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kâlsî version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B,), in the genitive plural *teshaṁ* (VI), i.e., *teshâṃ*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchî inscription. It occurs in the word *pháḷiga*° (I, A,), i.e., *sphâṭika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(*a*) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *á* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvâra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvâra was considered equivalent to *aṁ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mátṛikás*, or the alphabets.

(*b*) The long *á* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamá*, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohâni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ṇi* and *ṇí* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *ṇ*, according to the analogy of *ṇa* and *ṇá*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *í*, *ú*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in °*deśânaṁ* (l. 3) and in *dânaṁ* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Śamaṇudeśânaṁ* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant, exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *goṭhîs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghâṭ, Hathigumphâ and Bharahut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pâṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pâṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *ḍha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhaṭṭiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *sh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *sh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

Transcripts and Translations.

I.[2]

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramâ[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha][3] majusaṁ-nanati phâligashamugaṁ[4] cha Budhasarirânaṁ nikhetu [II].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

[2] Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

[3] Looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

[4] Possibly *phâliyam snamugam*.

TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Śiva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*[5])

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

II.

Utaro Pigahaputo kâṇîṭho[6] [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Utara (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*[7]).

III.

L. 1 Goṭhi
2 Hirañavaghavâ
3 V[u]gâḷako K[â]ḷaho
4 Visako Thorasisi
5 Samaṇo Odalo
6 Apaka . Shamudo
7 Anuga[h]o Kuro
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Âḷinakâ
9 V[a]ruṇo Piga[la]ko Koshako
10 Suto Pâpo Kabherakh[o] [Gâḷo]ko
11 Samaṇa[d]âsho Bharado
12 Oḍalo Thoratiso Tiso
13 Gilâṇo Jaṃbho
14 Puḍara (?) [B]ûbo
15 Gâlavata . . (?) Janako
16 Gosâlakânaṁ Kûro
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro
18 Kârahaputo [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (*consists of*) :—

Hirañavaghavâ (*Hiraṇyavyâghrapâd*) Vugâlaka (*Udgâraka*), Kâḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśîrshi*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Âḷinaka (*Âlînaka*?), Varuṇa, Pigalaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (Kauśika?), Suta, Pâpa, (Kabherakha ?) (*Kuberaka* ?), Gâleka (?), Samaṇa[d]âsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audâra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilâṇa (*Glâna*), Jaṁbha, ... Bûba . . . Janaka, of the Gosâlakas (*Gośâlaka*), Kûra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kâraha.

[5] The genitive *sarirânaṁ* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

[6] This seems to be meant for *kaniṭṭho*.

[7] For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *pajâpati*, Sanskrit *prajâvatî* and the inscriptional *bhagapato* for *bhagavato*, *pijite* for *vijite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

[8] Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.

IV.[9]

Sama[ṇadâ]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirâni mahiyânukaṁmâ . . . .

Remark.

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.[10]

L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [।]
2 Hiraṇakâragâmaṇîputo Bûbo [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."
"Bûba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakâra (*Hiraṇyakâra*)."

VI.[11]

Shaga[ṭh]inigamaputânaṁ râjapâmukhâ[12][।] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako râjâ Shîhagoṭhiyâ pâmukho [।] teshaṁ aṁnaṁ maj [û-]s[aṁ] phâligashamugo cha pâsâṇashamugo cha [॥].

TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shâgaṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shîha (*Siṁha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.[13]

Samaṇo Chagha[ña]puto Utaro Ârâmutara . . [॥]

TRANSLATION.

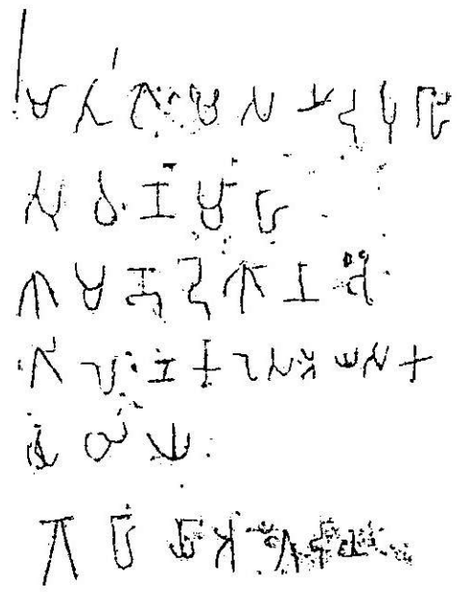
"Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghaña (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*)

VIII[14]

L. 1 Negamâ
2 Vachho Chagho
3 Jeto Jaṁbho Tiso
4 Reto Achino Shabhiko
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Mâho
6 Seṭo Chhadiko Okhabûlo
7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo
8 Samaṇadâsho Sâmako
9 Kâmuko Chîtako [॥]

[9] Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.
[10] Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscripton on the central disc. Possibly *Kûbo* is to be read.
[11] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.
[12] Read °*pâmukhâñaṁ*.
[13] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.
[14] Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

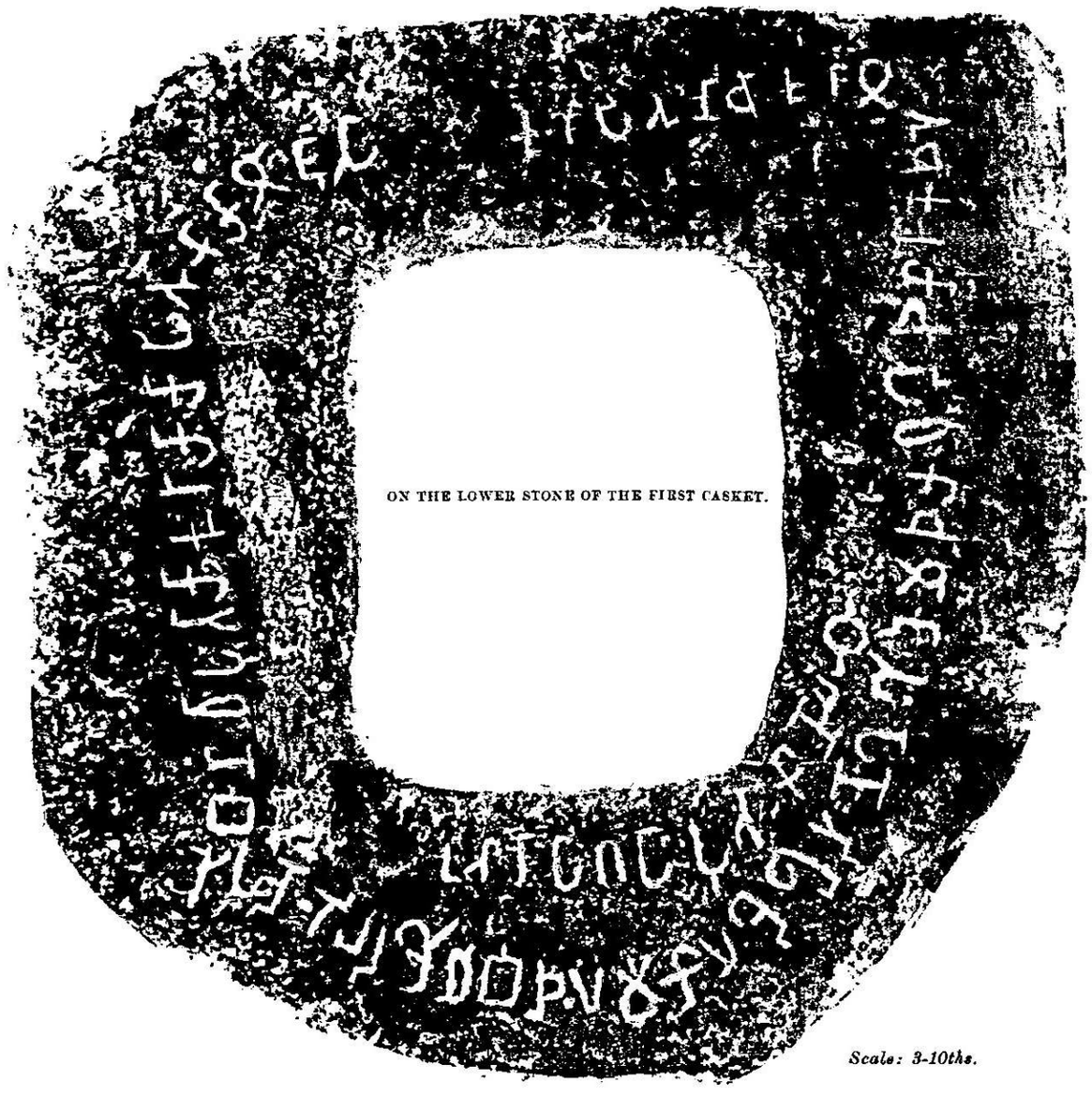
ON THE CRYSTAL.



Full size.

A. Rea, fecit.

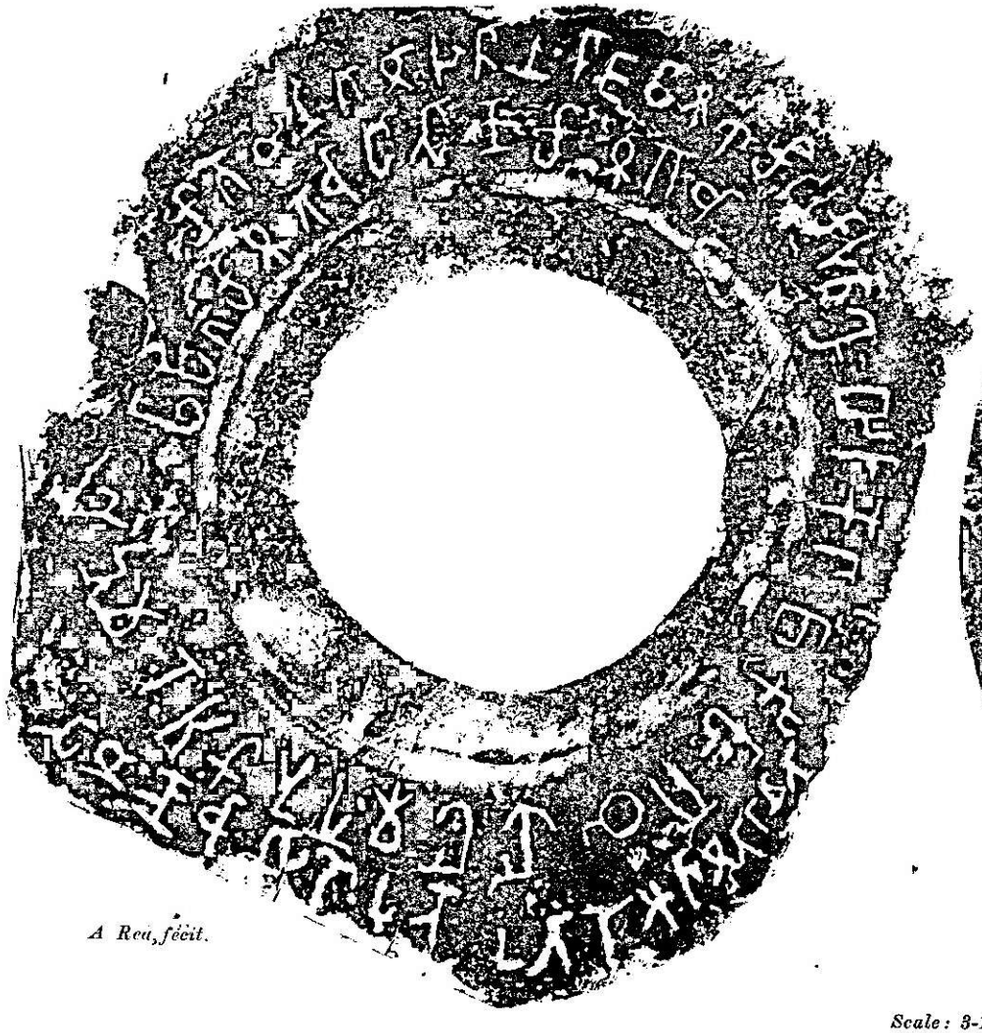
ON THE LOWER STONE OF THE FIRST CASKET.



Scale: 3-10ths.

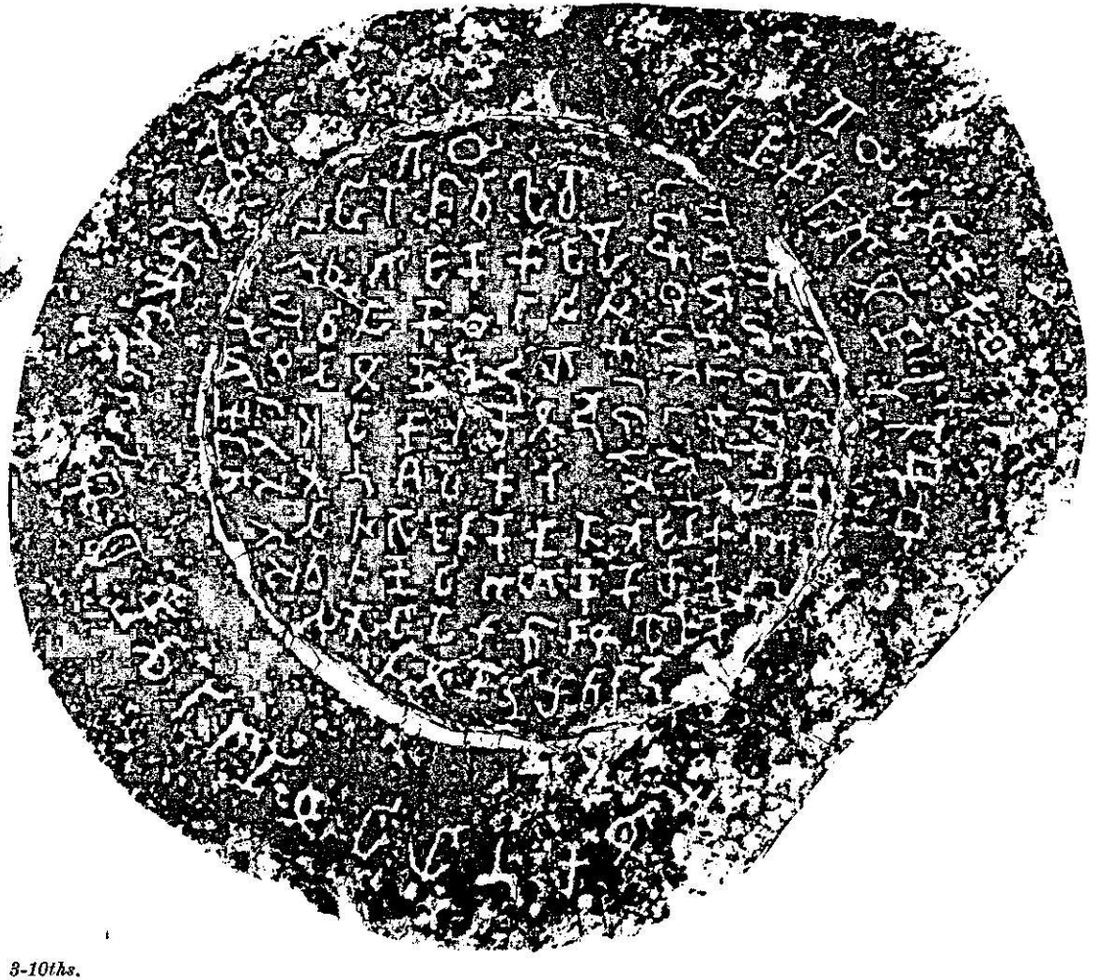
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



A Rea, fecit.

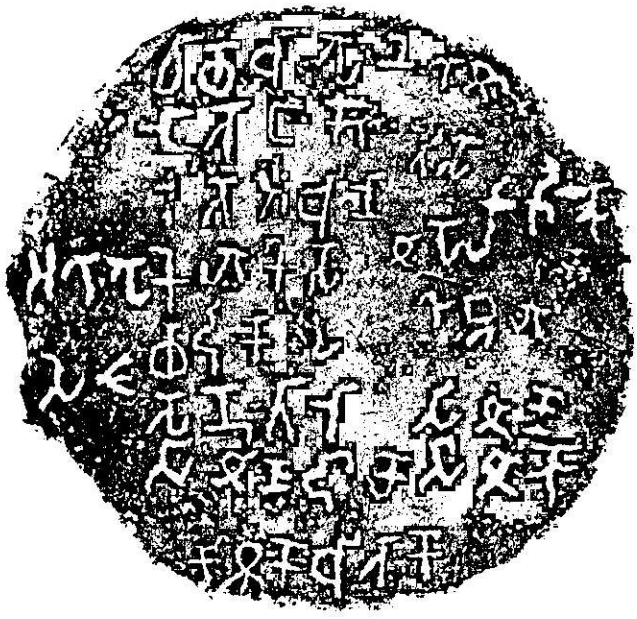
ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



Scale: 3-10ths.

BHAṬṬIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

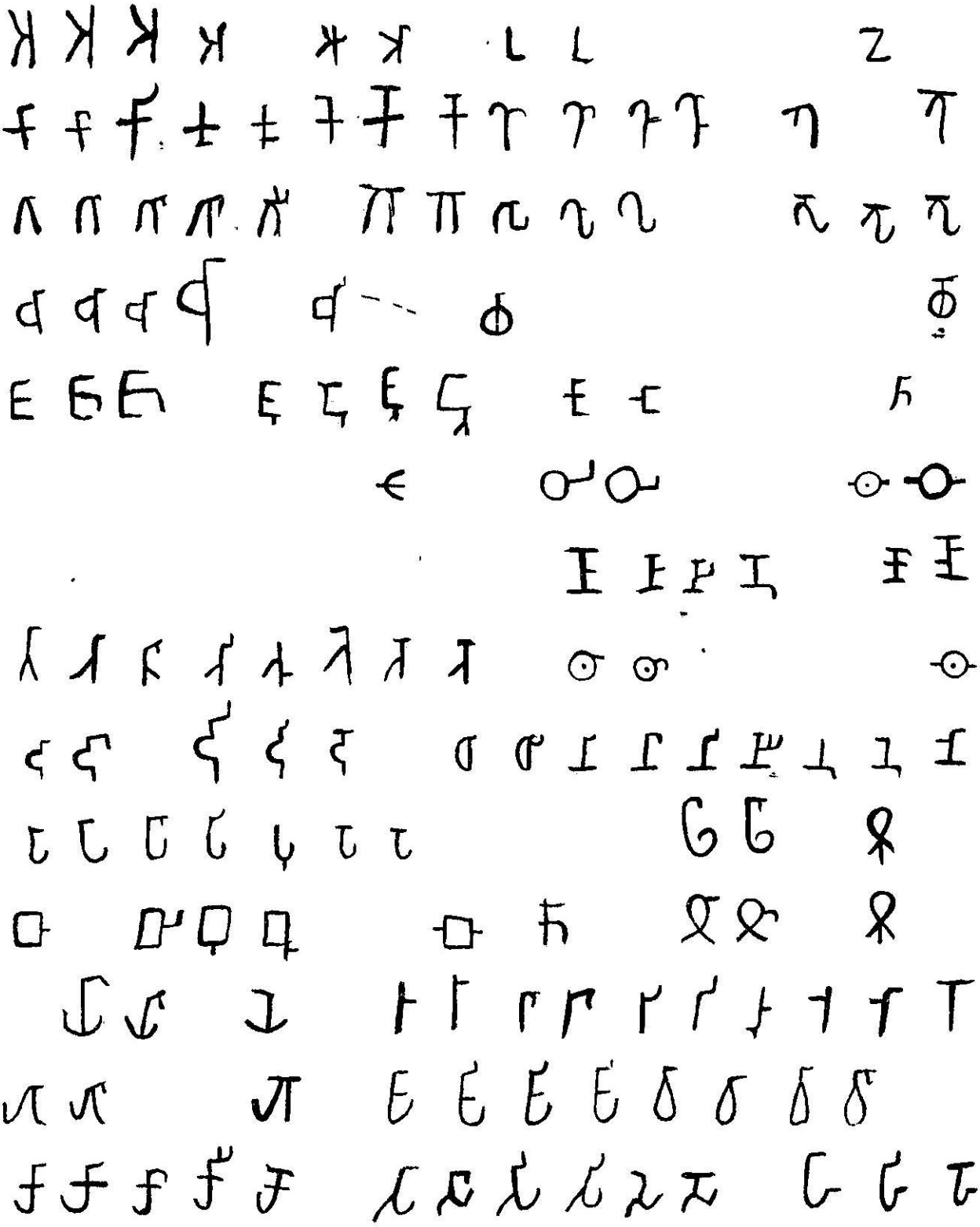
ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET



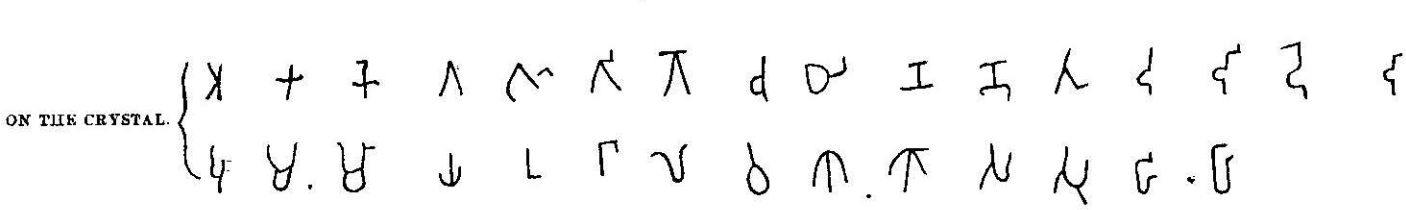
ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.

A. Rea, fecit. *Scale: 3-10ths.*

ALPHABET OF THE BHAṬṬIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.



ON THE CRYSTAL.



J. Burgess, fecit.

TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (Chaṅga ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jaṁbha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achîrṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Mâha (*Mâgha*), Seṭa (*Śvaitra* ?), Chhadika (Chhandika ?), Okhabûla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samaṇadâsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Sâmaka (*Śyâmaka*), Kâmuka, Chîtaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.[15]

Arahadinânaṁ goṭhiyâ majûsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [।] tena kama yena Kubirako râjâ aṁ[k]i [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta, was given*) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

X.[16]

L. 1 Mâtugâmasa [Naṁ]dapurâhi[17]
2 Suvaṇamâhâ
3 Śamaṇudeśânaṁ cha[18]
4 Gilâṇakerasa[19] ayasaka
5 [Sa]ṭhiya[20]
6 gohiyâ a-ga dânaṁ[21] [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrâmaṇeras from Suvaṇamâha, in the *Ayasakasaṭhi gohi* of *Gilânakera* (?)."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudêśânaṁ* and secondly by *dânaṁ*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dânaṁ* is mutilated and those from *gilâṇakerasa* down to *gohiyâ*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

[15] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

[16] Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

[17] The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

[18] The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

[19] There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read °*keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

[20] The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

[21] There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *âyâga*. The *da* of *dânaṁ* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.

XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

The Śaka year 1059.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, in the Nawâdâ sub-division of the Gayâ district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.[1] Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1′ 8½″ broad by 1′ 3½″ high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are the peculiar kind of Nâgarî which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla and in the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,[2] which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson[3] palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapâla.[4] In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvâra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

[1] I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayâ District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

[2] See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

[3] See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

[4] For Govindapâla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.

v and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgâdharo 'bhût* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śâka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapâd*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śûribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anusvâra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vaṅśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrî*, line 27, and *âtapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyaṁ* (for *abbhriyaṁ*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrîmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyattau*, line 18, *samvâsâya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitatâra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhârdhaṁ* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girâ* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *âtman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirî* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śaka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgâdhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *praśasti*,[5] or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śâkadvîpîya Brâhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa where the Brâhmans are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,[6] are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

[5] According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgâdhara composed two *praśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

[6] See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Krishṇadâsa.

Śâmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jâmbavatî). According to our author the first of these Maga Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dâmodara, Chakrapâṇi, who, compared as he is to Vâlmîki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamâna of the Mâna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihâra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,[7] piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kâlidâsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî[8]] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgâdhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahîdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgâdhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Mâna prince, the king Rudramâna (verse 24); that he married Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagâ (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Mâna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamâna and Rudramâna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgâdhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgâdhara himself, Chakrapâṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita*,[9] an anthology compiled by Śrîdharadâsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brâhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brâhmans lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* also was compiled there,[10] I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrîdharadâsa with Gaṅgâdhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, *viz.* his great-grandfather Dâmodara, his grandfather Chakrapâṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahîdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgâdhara himself the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

[7] See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

[8] The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

[9] See Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

[10] Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler's father, Ratnâsa, lived under Lakshmaṇasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dâmodara the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* contains two verses,[11] of Chakrapâṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahîdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgâdhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Srîmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapâdâḥ, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dâmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapâṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgâdhara, Mahîdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. ओं[13][॥×] ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥
एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-
मन्यत्र श्रियमुद्वहत्यतिलघुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।
वक्षःसम्मुखसम्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्गोपसर्पत्सुखं
निद्रा[णो] ◡-[14]

2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भरः ॥[15]—[1].
देवो जीयाच्चिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्य दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वङ्गस्तत्र[16]द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्वतः स्वाङ्ग — —[17]

3. शाम्बो[18]यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥[19]—[2].
तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं
बु(बु)द्ध्या व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीणया ।
भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्ब)भूव भुवनोद्धाराभिपातौ[20]तपः
— —

4. यस्य मुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्सोपमः[21] ॥ [22]—[3].
गोत्रञ्च तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वैस्तपोभिरथ सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।
यत्रापरे प[र]मतत्त्वविदोनवद्यविद्यावदातमतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥[23]—[4].
कालेना ◡ ◡ —

[11] The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: *Kailâśa re paśupati; Sîlaṁ śâtayati; Tasyâ nâma mayâ; Yat kâṇḍaṁ gaganadrumasya; Ârûḍhântarayauvanasya; Agre vitatya charaṇau; Âchchhidya Lakshmîm; Iyaṁ sâ Kâlindî; Naikaṁ janma tavaiva; Vandyosau vidhir eva; Lîlottânaśayopi;* and *Kântâreshu karâvalambi.*

[12] From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

[13] Expressed by a symbol.

[14] The *akshara*, here broken away, was probably त्र.

[15] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Read वंशस्तत्र.

[17] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably मुक्ताः.

[18] Read शाम्बो for साम्बो.

[19] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[20] This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the *akshara* भि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपातौ.

[21] Read °तंसोपमः.

[22] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[23] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 5. विलुप्तविलसद्विद्याधने धन्विनां
वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवद्दामोदरस्यात्मजः ।
यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्थि[ते]-
[24]र्व्वङ्गस्या ◡ ◡ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणिग्रामणीः ॥[25]—[5].
अतिस्थिरा पृथु . . . -[26]
6. त्कीर्त्तिर्गरि[माख्य]दं ।
दिक्चक्रं यदि नारूढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथं ॥[27]—[6].
जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ
मारीचादिव कस्य(श्य)पादुपचितां धर्त्तुं कुले सत्क्रियां ।
ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययौ]-
7. र्विद्या[चा]रशुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्या पवित्रं जगत् ॥[28]—[7].
मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरखिलोद्गीतैः स्वकर्णश्रुतैः
सन्मित्रोपगमेन तैरतिभृतैर्भोगैरयत्नोप[गैः] ।
भ्रात्रोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस्र(श्र)यै-
8.
श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रोप्यदभ्रो गुणः ॥ —[8].
तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरामौ ।
सौहार्दहृद्यचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न स्खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥[29]—[9].
9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यत्नात् प्रतीतात्मना
सम्वासाय[30]नरेश्वरेण शिविरी[31]श्रीवर्ण्णमानेन तौ ।
तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य(ब्य)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं
काञ्चित् कोटिमनुत्तरां गुणभुवः कीर्त्तेर्विभूतेरपि ॥[32]—[10].
आ
10. सि[न्धोर्ग]णनीयगौरवगुणेनैकेन [से]व्येनयो-
स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्म्महीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।
अन्येनापि पुनर्म्मह[ल्ल]कधुरा[33]व्यस्तेति[34]विस्तारिणा-
वेतौ सत्वनयैर्व्व(र्व्व)भूवतुरिह प्रज्ञैकविज्ञानिकौ ॥ —[11].
गत्वा श्री-
11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्दयः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वम्विततार[35]तर्प्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै-
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ —[12].
सात[त्या]-

[24] Read °र्व्वङ्गस्या. The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

[25] Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

[27] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[28] Metre of verses 7 and 8: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[29] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read संवासाय.

[31] One would have expected the neuter शिविरं.

[32] Metre of verses 10—12: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[33] The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like स्त.

[34] This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be °धुरावमिति.

[35] Read सर्वस्वं विततार.

L. 12. नित्यकृत्या[हु]तिभिरर्चितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।
एनः स्वेनोज्जगार त्रिजगति विदितादाश्रया[न्य]त्वदोषा-
दिद्धं धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिरान्निष्कृतं हो-

13. मवह्निः ॥[36]—[13].
श्वेताद्रिं तं श्रयति [पितृभी]त्यात्मनो [निस्पृ(ष्पृ)भार्धं][37]
धत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिमुन्मुक्ततर्कम् ।
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभोः कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-
र्भ्रान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्धर्म्मकीर्त्तिः ॥[38]—[14].
यस्य श्रीमग-

14. धेश्वरो [नयवशा]च्चोतिप्रयोगाग्र[ख]ल-
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरचुम्बि(म्ब)तमतिर्व्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।
राजाख्यानसरःसरोरुहमिति स्वैरं पुरः क्ष्माभृतां
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैतालिकैः ॥[39]—[15].
यः सन्मन्त्रिषु चा-

15. तुरीपरि[च]यैर्व्वाचस्पतिः प्रस्तुत-
प्रज्ञासर्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चरि[तै]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।
सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृहं र[त्न]त्रयीतात्त्विको[40]
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः[41] ॥—[16].
स्मेरापारपरोपका-[42]

16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-
व्याहारैर्ज्जनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरुः ।
धौरेयः सुधियां सुधानिधिकलामौलेः सदाराधन-
ध्यानेन जन्म निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].
पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य क्ष-

17. तिनश्चारित्रमु[द्रा]पदं
[घौ]डीदेशनरेशशुद्धसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा[43] ।
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुरि[44]
श्रीमत्शङ्कर[45][आ?]वि[रं]कुर[यि]तुं सत्पुण्यबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18].
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदुचितं तेनैव तौ दं-

[36] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[37] This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

[38] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[39] Metre of verses 15—19: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[40] The *akshara* in brackets, in the original, is त्र rather than व.

[41] Read °न्दर्भगर्भे°.

[42] The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to स्मेरोपा°

[43] The first *akshara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either घौ or धौ. Originally सचव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

[44] I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akshara* आ another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

[45] Read श्रीमच्छ°.

L. 18. पती

सम्यत्तावपि[46]नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।
मामाराधयतन्मधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां
गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].
सुप्रीतयोर्भ(र्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-
19. रित्यनुशासनेन ।
स्वाराधितस्मरहरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥[47]—[20].
गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः शैशवाद्विश्वजनीनवृत्तः ।
विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-
20. न ॥[48]—[21].
अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।
आशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दशरथात्तु ॥[49]—[22].
सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिक्षाभिरुद्भासिताः
सज्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्तविशदाश्छन्दोवि-
21. धौ साधवः ।
[ख्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-[50]
द्वेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(बि)भ्रति भ्रातरः ॥[51]—[23].
तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।
स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवद्द(द्व)लादमित्रा-
22. म्बु(म्बु)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥[52]—[24].
पाणि[र्द्दानचणः प्रभौघ]लह[री] वक्त्रञ्च यस्य स्वयं
मर्यादास्थितिमान्स एव जगतां जीवातवश्चेत्कृताः ।
तत्किं कल्पलताद्यहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुद्वयी
पद्मेन्द्र[53]निधयोऽप्यसामिति विधेर्द्विक् प्रक्रि-
23. यागौरवं ॥[54]—[25].
सूक्ष्मं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]
व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वशि भ्रान्तिषु ।
क्षीराब्धी[न्दु]सुधादिषु[55]प्रभवति ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगर्भा(र्भा)द्द[हि]-
र्निर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्य[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं[56]यद्यश-
24. : ॥ —[26].
युद्धे व(ब)द्धोत्सवरिपुभटश्रेणि[सिद्ध]: सदा यो
व(ब)न्धुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।
श्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं
पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥[57]—[27].
आचाराभ-

[46] Read संयत्तावपि.
[47] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[48] Metre: Upajâti.
[49] Metre: Gîti.
[50] Originally धि was engraved, instead of धी.
[51] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[52] Metre: Vaṁśastha.
[53] Read पद्मेन्द्रौ.
[54] Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[55] Read क्षीराब्धी°.
[56] Read यथेच्छ°(?).
[57] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

L. 25. रणः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरत्नापणः
प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।
यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य मुख्यो विधि-
र्द्वीरत्वेनवधिर्व्विधूतवितथव्याधिर्द्दियां सेवधिः ॥[58]—[28].

26. गौ-
डराजसुहृदो जयपाणेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।
आत्मजामुदवहत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥[59]—[29].
आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन्न हीनाङ्गना
रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न्न गणितास्ता

27. गोत्रभित्सङ्गयाः ।
अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्व्वि(र्व्वि)भ्रतो-
स्तत्रायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्द्दाम्पत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥[60]—[30].
सन्तोषार्ज्जवधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिक्षमा-
मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।
दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्सर्यमायामद-
द्वेषेर्ष्यादिनिसूदनस्य चरितं यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].
तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्रकृत्वः कृत्यं स्वभर्त्तुरुचितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29. आवा(बा)[ख्य]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(ब)न्धुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥[61]—[32]
[य]स्याद्वैतगतेः[62]स्वयंविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वश्रमः
स व्र(ब्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोथवा ।
भाव्यः शू(सू)रिभिरेव[63]चित्रकवि-

30. तायास स्तुती दुस्करे[64]
भारत्याः कुरुतेपरान्निजगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥[65]—[33].
धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विसृत्वरतरुप्रासादसद्मादिक-[66]
व्यक्ताकारकदम्ब(म्ब)मम्ब(म्ब)रमनु स्वेनोद्भवत्यब्भि(ब्भि)यं ।
स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्व्भा(र्भा)वा-

31. यथेदं तथा
मत्वैव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्म्मधर्म्मादरः ॥ —[34].
पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना
कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता शुभ्रातपत्रं जगत् ।
कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

[58] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[59] Metre: Svâgatâ.

[60] Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन वृषं

[61] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[62] Originally तथा° was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.

[63] Originally शूर° was engraved, but the sign for *i* has been added afterwards.

[64] Read दुष्करी.

[65] Metre of verses 33-35: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[66] The second *akshara* of this line originally was clearly सा, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा.

L. 32. सच्छायाभृतामम्बसां
यस्मिन्नूर्म्मिमिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तन्नरीनृत्यते ॥ —[35].
स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।
शुभ्राम्ब(म्ब)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥[67]—[36].
आकाशः पवनः कृशानुरुदकं धात्रीति लोकत्र-
33. यो-
मूर्त्या व्र(ब्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।
नेत्रश्रोत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-
दुच्चिद्रां मुदमान्तरेषु[68]कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥[69]—[37].
क्व शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः
कवी-
34. नां पन्थानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।
स्वपूर्त्ते त्वेतस्मिन् सुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः
प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥ ॥[70]—[38].
नन्देन्द्रियाभ्रेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजश्चोद्धरणस्य नम्ना ।
इमां शि-
35. लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुच्चखान ॥[71]—[39].
शाक १०५९ [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatî !

(*Verse* 1.) May the supporter[72] of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !—who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,[73] whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa where the Brâhmans are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,[74] whom Śâmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts[75] familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

[67] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[68] Read °मन्तरेष.
[69] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[70] Metre: Śikhariṇî.
[71] Metre: Upajâti.
[72] *i.e.*, Vishṇu.
[73] *i.e.*, the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.
[74] The story told in the *Purâṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Vishṇu-purâṇa* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.
[75] In connection with *vyâpṛita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.

sage Bhâradvâja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . . like a garland of the great race of the Maga twice-born.

(*V.* 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . . , were headed by Chakrapâṇi, the son of Dâmodara. Like Vâlmîki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,[76] how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marîchi so to Chakrapâṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varṇamâna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Mâna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratîhâra*,[77] while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha[78] went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,[79] eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

[76] The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapâṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

[77] Literally 'door-keeper.'

[78] The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

[79] The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two ver' *vitatâra* and *âpa* are in no way connected with each other.

times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(*V.* 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.[80]

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,[81] was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṁkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents[82] who had well worshipped the destroyer[83] of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

[80] Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yaṁ* instead of *taṁ*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

[81] I am not certain what *ratnatrayî* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddhu*, *dharma* and *saṁgha*, with Jainas *samyagdarśana*, *samyagjñâna* and *samyakchâritra*.

[82] The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

[83] *i.e.*, Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(*V.* 22.) After him came another son, named Mahîdhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshâs*, well acquainted with the *Jyotisha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedâṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Mâna princes, the king Rudramâna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,[84] of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgâdhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi who bore the title of *âdhikârika*,[85] a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagâ.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgâdhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nârâyaṇa,

[84] Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.
[85] *i.e.*, 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(*V.* 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitaśata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.[86] Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgâdhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in Gaṅgâdhara's words.[87]

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

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[86] Instead of the Abl. case *apunarbhâvât* I should have expected the Dat. case.

[87] Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgâdhara's words.'

XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6′ broad by 1′ 2½″ high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾″. The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena,[1] and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsaḍ inscription,[2] Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parâkkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryeṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsaḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmânîya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal is used in *siṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṅśuka*, line 5, and *nistriṅśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśchit*, line 2, °*bhânsi* and *yaśânsi*, line 5, and even in °*prîtin=surendrâ*°, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (*e.g.*, in °*parâkkramakkramapadâkkrântattrilokî*,° in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrî Âdisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvâra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhnuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achîkarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prârabdhî*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

[1] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.
[2] See *ib.*, p. 202.

line 7, *vyutthânika* (derived from *vyutthâna* as *vijñânika* is from *vijñâna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisiṁha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśâlmali, Chhiṅgalâ, and Nabhûtîshaṇḍaka.[3] Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamâna, Śrîdhautamâna, and Ajitamâna[4]—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyâ to Tâmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśâlmali (verses 4—5). While[5] they were there, the king Âdisiṁha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,[6] and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagaka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamâna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrîpaṭṭa*[7]) on him, but also, at Udayamâna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśâlmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamâna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *râjâ*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17-19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrîdhautamâna and Ajitamâna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhûtishaṇḍaka and Chhiṅgalâ (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved[8] to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśâlmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamâna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamânadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;[9] nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tâmalipti (Tâmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyâ, is the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

[3] So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhûtishaṇḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhûtishaṇḍaka*.

[4] These names are given below.

[5] The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

[6] This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prârabdhî-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prârabdhi* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody;' and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabâhu's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kauṭumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

[7] See Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasûtra*, quoted above, the word *śreshṭhin* is explained by *Śrîdevatâdhyâsita-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhûshitottamâṅgaḥ;* what the king gave to Udayamâna was apparently such a *śrîpaṭṭa*.

[8] Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

[9] The names of *Udayamâna* and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varṇamâna* and *Rudramâna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.[10]

TEXT.[11]

L. 1. [ओं[12]]

श्रीरात्मदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगी[न्द्रफ]णामणिस्थं[13] ।
ई[र्षाकु]ला कर[तलि]न हरेऽप्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [श्रि]ये वः ॥[14]—[1].
व(ब)भूव पूर्व्वमगधाधिराजः श्रीआदिसिङ्होरिगजै[क]सिङ्हः[15]।
पराक्रमैर्यऽप्रथितोद्वितीयः

2. श्रीमज्ज[रास]न्ध इव द्वितीयः ॥[16]—[2].
अस्याश्च[म×]रशालमल्याञ्छिङ्गलाय[न्त]यैव च ।
नभूतीष[ण्ड]के चापि व(ब)भूवाधिपतिऽपुरा ॥[17]—[3].
अथ कस्मिन्श्च[त्र]मये[18] वणिजो भ्रातरस्त्रयः ।
तामलिप्ति[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्व्वम्वणिज्यया[19] ॥ —[4].
भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावासं यियासवः ॥(1)

3. प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].
सुवर्णमणिमाणिक्यमुक्ताप्रभृति यैर्द्धनं ।
वित्तपस्यईयेवासीदपर्यन्तमुपार्ज्जितं ॥ —[6].
सर्व्वभूताश्रयास्त्यदयादाक्षिण्यशालिनः ।
स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य त्रयः क्षितिमुपागताः ॥ —[7].
केलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4. मलिनश्चन्द्रस्तुषाराचलः
प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्येव हि ।
तारल्यञ्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो
येषामत्र व(ब)भूव निर्म्मलगुणैः शीलस्य नैवोपमा ॥[20]—[8].
दातृत्वेन समो व(ब)भूव न पुरा कर्णोपि येषामसौ
शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्[21]

5. नैवार्ज्जुनस्तुल्यतां
ये चासह्यपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तत्रिलोकीतला
वीरानाहवमूर्द्धसु प्रव(ब)लिनऽपङ्कनिवोच्चिक्षिपुः ॥ —[9].
दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यश्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्कानि[22]।
अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुषारभान्सि[23] सर्व्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशा[न्सि] येषां ॥[24]—[10].
विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

[10] See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

[11] From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

[14] Metre: Indravajrâ; but the third Pâda of the verse is as if the metre were Vasantatilakâ.—Compare Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, verse 41.

[15] Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंहो and °सिंहः.

[16] Metre: Upajâti.

[17] Metre of verses 3-7: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Read कस्मिंश्च°.

[19] Read पूर्व्वं व°.

[20] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[21] Read °गमन्नैवा°.

[22] Read °विकटांशुकानि.

[23] Read °भांसि and यशांसि.

[24] Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 6. अपि न [स्मयान्धा] नम्राः सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्त्तिभाजः[25]।
निस्त्रिङ्गनिष्ठुरकराः[26] [क्र]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकल्पतरवः शिवशौरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11].
स श्रीमानादिसिङ्घोथ[27] कदाचिदटवीमिमां ।
प्रारब्धी(ब्धी)खेलनोद्युक्तऽप्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥[28]—[12].
आदिदेश

7. समाहूय स पल्लीक्षितयाज्जनं ।
यूयमद्यावलगकमस्मभ्यं[29] ददताखिति ॥ —[13].
अत्रत्यस्तन्समाकर्ण्य[30] [तूर्ण्ण]म्व(म्ब)लपरिग्रहः[31] ॥(।)
वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठमुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14].
राज्ञोवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थ्य प्रयत्नतः ।
प्रेषयामास तन्मोपि[32] वल्लभोभून्महीपतेः ॥ —[15].

8. अल्पैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(ब)न्धमधिगम्य ततः क्रमेण ।
श्रीआदिसिङ्घनृपतिम्परिवो(बो)ध्य[33][ते]न [स]न्मानितो[34]भ्रमरशाल्मलिपल्लिलोकः॥[35][16].
तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशाल्मलिवासिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाऽप्रणम्य ।
राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पल्लिमेतामित्या-

9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चैः ॥ —[17].
एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते
तस्मै राज्यपदन्ददुः क्षितिभृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।
सोस्मिन्विक्रमखण्डितारिसुभटश्रेणिः श्रुतार्थश्चिरं
राज्यन्निर्ज्जितसर्व्वपल्लिरकरोन्नाम्नोदयाख्यो नृपः ॥[36] —[18].
यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्यार्ज्जितां

10. कीर्त्तिश्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि सोत्कण्ठिताः ।
गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकृतप्रीतिन्सुरेन्द्रालय-[37]
प्रान्तप्रोत्थितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].
आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।
पल्लीद्वयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज्ज सः ॥[38]—[20].
श्रीमाच्छ्रीधौतमानाख्यः[39] प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-[40]

[25] Read चोन्नतम्°.
[26] Read निस्त्रिंश°.
[27] Read °सिंहोथ.
[28] Metre of verses 12-15; Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[29] Originally °स्मभ्यो was engraved, but it has been altered to °स्मभ्यं.
[30] Read °स्तत्समा°.
[31] Of the *aksharas* in brackets the upper portion is broken away.
[32] Read तं सोपि or तन्मोपि.
[33] Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंह°.
[34] Read संमानितो.
[35] Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakâ.
[36] Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[37] Read °प्रीतिं सुरे°.
[38] Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[39] Read श्रीमाच्छ्री°.
[40] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11. षण्डके ।
वश्यात्मोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमचीकरत् ॥ —[21].
प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपखण्डितामित्रमण्डलः ।
अभूदजितमानोपि च्छिङ्गलायां महीपतिः ॥ —[22].
पत्युर्भ्रमरशालमल्याश्छिङ्गला[न?]भूतिषण्डकौ[41] ।
वश्यौ व(ब)भूवतुः पूर्व्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].
आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोत्र-
12. क्रमोयम्महा-
नस्माकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्य ते पूर्व्वजाः ।
अस्मद्गोत्रभवात्कदाचिदनाद्युत्यानिकं[42] स्यादिदं
सत्यल्लीद्वयमित्यवेत्य चखनुः प्राशस्त्यवर्णानिमान् ॥[43]—[24].
यावत्प्रान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तत्रिलोकोच्छ्रयं[44]
चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(ब)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपतिः ।
13. यावल्लोकमिदृक्षयाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसत्यात्मभू-
र्गोत्रस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARÛPA.

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Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.[1]

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gaṇeśa. The plates measure 9¾″ broad by 7″ high, and weigh together

[41] Here again the *akshara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

[42] This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to °चिदन व्यु°; and I believe the intended reading to be °चिदपि न व्यु°.

[43] Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] I am not sure whether the word रेचक of this line should be altered to मेचक.°

[1] All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.

2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛishṇadvârikâ Temple inscription at Gayâ (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanâgarî which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of श, ष, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śântipâṭaka and Mandarâ situated in the *vishaya* of Bâḍâ, in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrîdhara, the son of Yudhishṭhira and Pâî his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvâmitra, in the village of Bhâva in Vârendrî. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratâpadevî his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Râmapâla and Vigrahapâla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumârapâla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

Sûryavaṁśî Pâlas.	*Mantrins.*
I. Vigrahapâla.	1. Yogadeva.
II. Râmapâla (son of I).	2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
III. Kumârapâla (son of II).	3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pâlas than is given in the above table. Vigrahapâla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Râmapâla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Râmapâla conquered (or regained?) Mithilâ, and killed a certain raja Bhîma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumârapâla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kâmarûpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahârâjâdhirâja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *praśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *râjaguru* Murâri and Padmâ his wife. The *śâsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmâdhikârin*. It was engraved by Karṇabhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śâsanaṁ*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulî* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanâman* of Śrîdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulî* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pâla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pâla dynasty, the reign of Mahîpâla from 1006 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapâla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pâla kings from Gopâla I. to Vigrahapâla III., based on the Âmgâchhî plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Âmgâchhî and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapâla, Râmapâla and Kumârapâla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pâla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahîpâla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapâla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapâla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.[2] Nayapâla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapâla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pâla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapâla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasaṁkrânti* fell (1) on *ekâdaśî* and (2) on *dvâdaśî* in Vaiśâkha (*kṛishṇapaksha*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekâdaśî* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvâdaśî* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumârapâla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

[2] Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumârapâla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapâla or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumârapâla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapâla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumârapâla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pâlas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pâlas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pâlas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhûmi (Mithilâ) by Râmapâla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pâla line. And thus, too, the Pâla culmination under Kumârapâla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pâlas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pâla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

TEXT.

Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तम्भः कुम्भः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । हरिदन्तर-

[2.] मितमूर्त्तिः क्रीडापोत्री हरिर्ज्जयति[3] ॥[4] (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य जातवान पूर्व्वं[5] । विग्रहपा-

[3.] लो नृपतिः सर्व्वाकारद्विसंसिद्धः[6] ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योगदेव इति ख्यातः

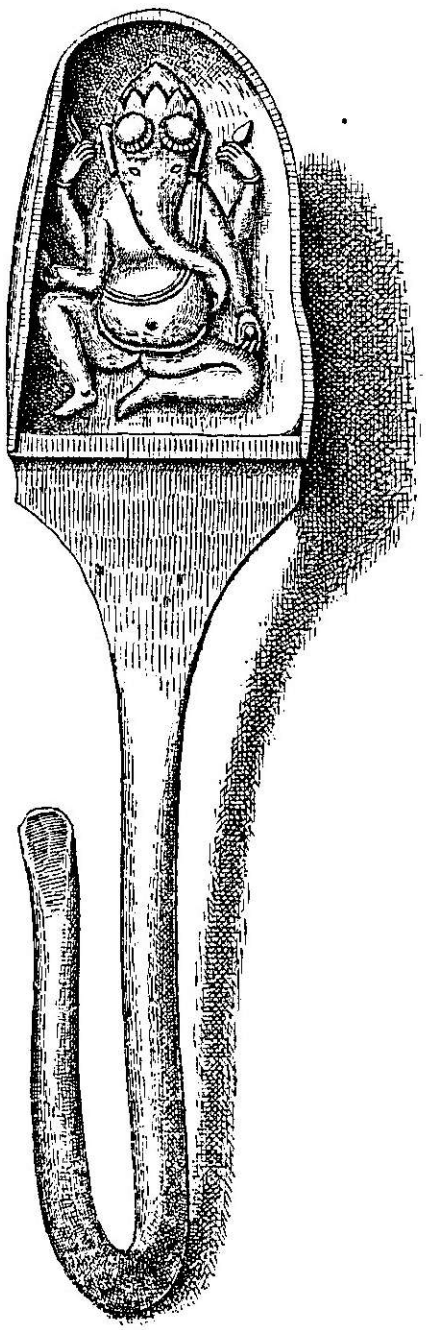
[4.] स्फुरद्दोर्द्दण्डविक्रमः ॥[7] (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य[8] नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुलाब्धिशी-

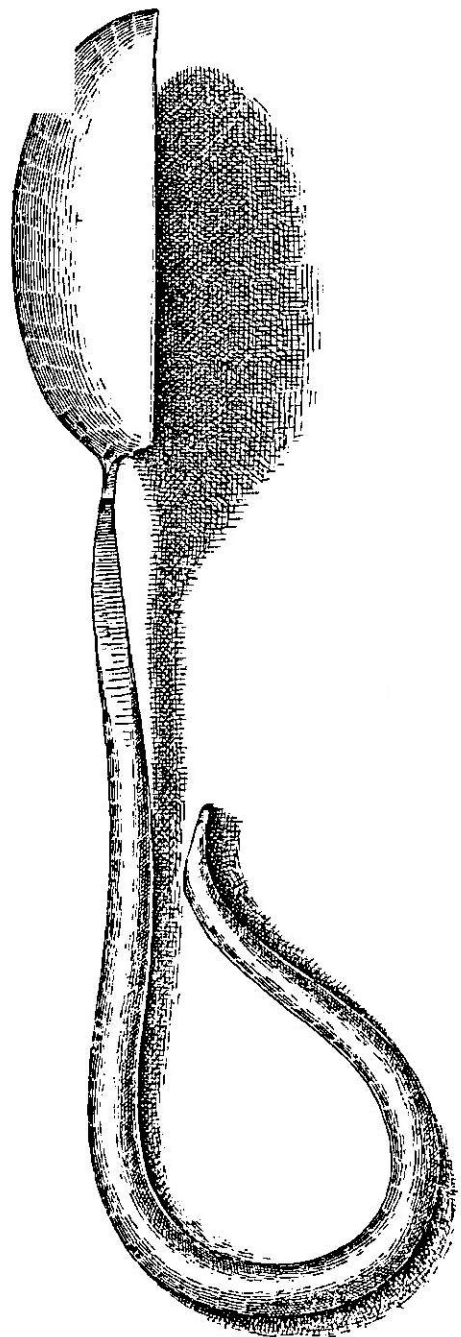
[5.] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक । तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यशः क्षोणीनायकभीम-

[3] Read °मूर्त्तिः and हरिर्ज्जयति
[4] Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyârjâ.
[5] Read जातवान् पूर्व्वम्.
[6] Read सर्व्वाकारर्द्धि°
[7] Metre: Śloka. (Pathyâvaktra.)
[8] Read तस्योर्ज्जस्व°

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.





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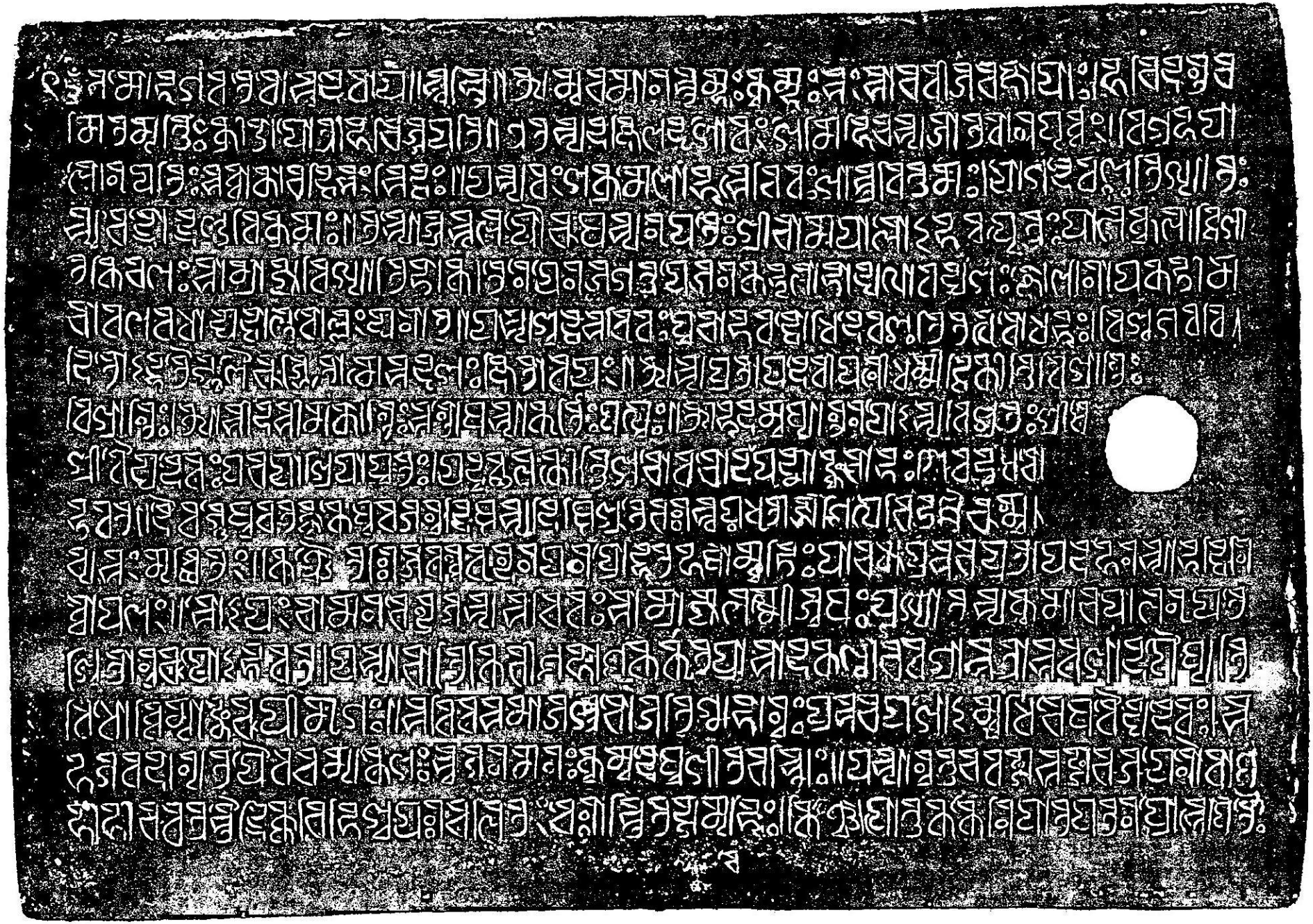


L. [6.] रावणवधाद्युद्धार्णवोल्लंघनात्[9] ॥[10] (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवद्बोधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधभूः। विश्वगेव वि-

[7.] दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुज्झितात्मसदृशः क्षितावयं[11] ॥[12] (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्म्मद्विकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः

[8.] विश्रान्तिः[13] । आसीदसीमकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याकृतिः पत्युः ॥[14] (6). अभूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य विश्रुतः श्रीवे-

[9.] श्रीवैद्यदेवः[15] परया श्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरीवरोद[16] पद्माङ्कुराभः शिवभूधरो-

[10.] भवत् ॥[17] (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्क्कुकेषु च जनुर्द्दिष्टस्य दिष्टिश्रुतेरन्त्रस्वप्नधृतीर्झटित्यरिभटैरुन्मु-

[11.] च्य संमूर्च्छितं । किञ्चैतन्निजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्गतहर्षाम्बुभिः पारक्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभूद्विनि-

[12.] र्व्वापणं[18] ॥[19] (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिवः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीजुषः प्रख्यातस्य कुमारपालनृपते-

[13.] श्चित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटकक्लृप्तप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति

[14.] विधोर्ब्बिम्बाङ्करूपी[20] मृगः॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरीजतिग्मभानुः[21] प्रसरयशोऽम्बुधिरेष वैद्यदेवः । स- ,

[15.] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सुजनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरश्मिः[22] ॥[23] (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये नौवाट-

[16] हीहीरवत्रस्तैर्द्विक्करिभिश्च[24] यत्र चलितं चेत्रास्ति तद्गम्यभूः । किञ्चोत्पातुककेनिपातपतनप्रोत्सर्पितैः

Plate II, A.

[17.] शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥[25] (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपालनृपते-

[18.] र्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यतेजस्यतेः[26] त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्पतेः । सप्ताङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्वमभितः

[19.] संचिन्तयन्नुग्रधीः प्राणेभ्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे[27] हरिहरिद्भुवि स-

[20.] त्कृतस्य श्रीतिम्ग्यदेव[28]नृपतेर्व्विकृतिं निशम्य। गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्त्ति-

[21.] रयं नियुक्तः ॥[29] (13). स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोरुरतेजसः। कतिपयदिनैर्द्दत्वा[30] जिष्णुः प्रयाणमसौ

[9] Read °भाक्. °लङ्घनात्

[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Read तत्त्व° विष्वगेव °तावयम्

[12] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

[13] Read धर्म्मर्द्दिकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः.

[14] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[15] Read श्रीवैद्यदेवः

[16] Read °सरीवरोदरे. The रे is supplied from a *truṭi*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9.

[17] Metre: Upajâti of Vaṃśastha and Indravaṃśa.

[18] Read जनुर्द्दिष्टस्य, *i.e.* " of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva). संमूर्च्छितम् °निर्व्वापणम्

[19] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] Read विधोर्ब्बिम्बा°

[21] Read °सरीज°

[22] Read शीतरश्मिः

[23] Metre: ?

[24] Read °वस्तैर्द्दि°

[25] Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] Read °नृपतेर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्य°

[27] Read एतादृशी.

[28] This might be read तिङ्ग.

[29] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read °दिनैर्द्दत्वा and द्रुतम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा

L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतिन्निजभुजपरिष्पन्दैः[31] साक्षाद्दिक्स्वतिविक्रमः ॥(14).[32] ए-

[23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः खण्डिलप्राये व्योमतले क्षसमिकगणै-

[24.] र्लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानश्रमः । किञ्चाच्छिद्रयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियाखक्षमः सुत्रामा नय-

[25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥[33] (15) दोर्दण्डारणिजे[34] हविर्भुजि भटव्रातेन्धनैरेधिते

[26.] संग्रामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्स्रीफलैः ।[35] कृत्वा होमविधिं परक्षितिभु-

[27.] जा दत्वाथ[36] पूर्णाहुतिं लब्धोदग्रयशो[37] महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुरुसमर-मध्यात[38] खड्गघातो-

[28.] त्पतद्भिः परसुभटशिरोभिर्व्योम कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । झटिति विसरराहुव्यूहधीबिभ्यदर्कः स्व-

[29.] रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छ्रयन्[39] स्वं जुगोप ॥[40] (17). चन्द्रस्त्रीङ्गवभूर्महीध्रसरणं सत्वप्रधानाशयः पा-

[30.] त्रश्रीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलगृहं स्वान्तस्थित-

[31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽथवा लंघितः[41]॥[42] (18). ज्ञानैर्गीष्पतिरुजितैर्द्विनपतिः

[32.] सत्पौरुषैः श्रीपतिर्द्वैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्द्वानैः[43] स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चैतेपि गिरोपमानविषयाः

Plate II, B.

[33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद् ब्रुम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्व्वैर्गुणानां[44] गणैः ॥0॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुधदेव इत्यनुजभूः

[34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्तत्तदसीमनिर्म्मलगुणैर्द्धर्म्मद्विशीलद्विभूः[45] । दानैः शोभनपल्लवैर्द्विज[46]-

[35.] कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरुद्रुप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यजृम्भायसाः[47] ॥ (20). अथाभ-

[36.] वत कौषिकसञ्ज्ञको मुनिमुनीन्द्रमुख्यो[48] निजगोत्रपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्यचयभमश्रमात्

[37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थितं[49] ॥[50] (21). एतद्वंसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजातिर्भावग्रामे

[38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोग्रे वरेन्द्रां अस्तामन्यद्गुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमाचाद्यद्वाग्नोऽ-

[39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्ण्णषानां प्रपञ्चः[51] ॥[52] (22). अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-

[40.] त्यभवत्सुधीश्वरः[53] । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रोत्रियत्वविलसद्यशोनिधिः ।[54] (23). पार्द्द-

[41.] ति धर्म्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्तिः शीलौदार्यश्रीयां[55]

[31] Read महीपतिर्न्निज°.

[32] Metre: Hariṇî.

[33] Metre of verses 15 and 16: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[34] Read दोर्द्दण्डा°.

[35] Read °लसच्छ्रीफलैः

[36] Read दत्त्वाथ

[37] Read लब्धोदग्रयश्री.

[38] Read °मध्यात्

[39] Read °शिरोभिर्व्योम °प्रोच्छ्रयन्

[40] Metre: Mâlinî.

[41] Read महीध्रसरणं सत्त्व° लङ्घितः

[42] Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[43] Read °रुर्जितैर्द्विन° श्रीपतिर्द्वैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्द्वानैः.

[44] Read ब्रूमः and सर्वैर्गु°.

[45] Read °सत्तदसीम° °धर्म्मद्विशीलद्वि°

[46] The var. lect. सत्फलपल्लवैः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and शोभन° is cut out in the text.

[47] Read कल्पमहीरुद्रुप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यचञ्चयशाः । जृम्भा° is cut out in the body of the plate, and चञ्चय (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

[48] Read °भवत् कौशिक° °मुनिर्मु°

[49] Read °भमश्रमात् and स्थितम्.

[50] Metre: Vaṃśastha.

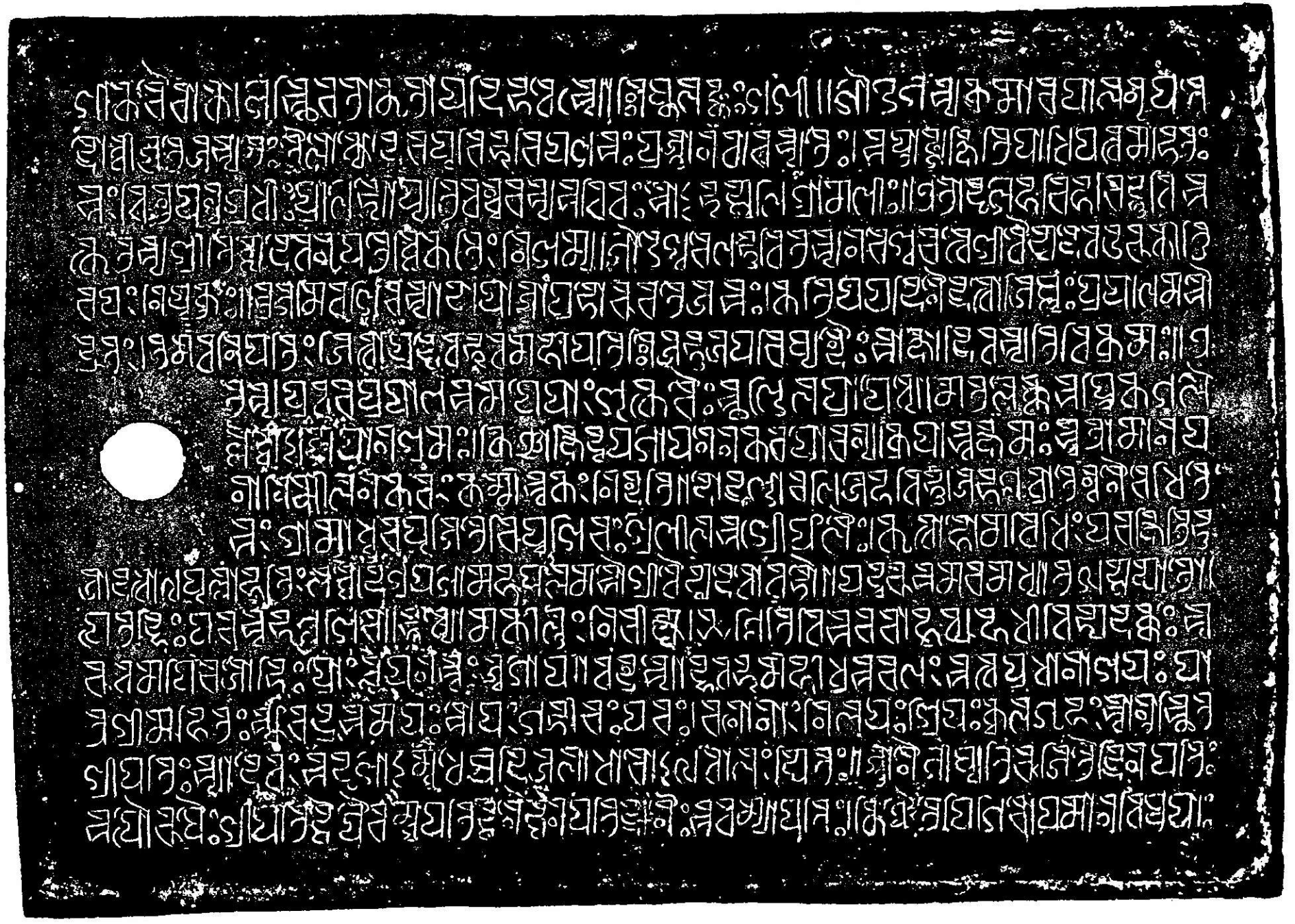
[51] Read एतद्वंशे . . प्रादुरासीद . . प्रविसरयशाः . . . वरेन्द्राम् । आस्तामन्य°. किल्लिषाणां.

[52] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[53] °भवत्सुधीश्वरः is faulty metre.

[54] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

[55] Read आसीद° . . शीलौदार्यश्रियां.



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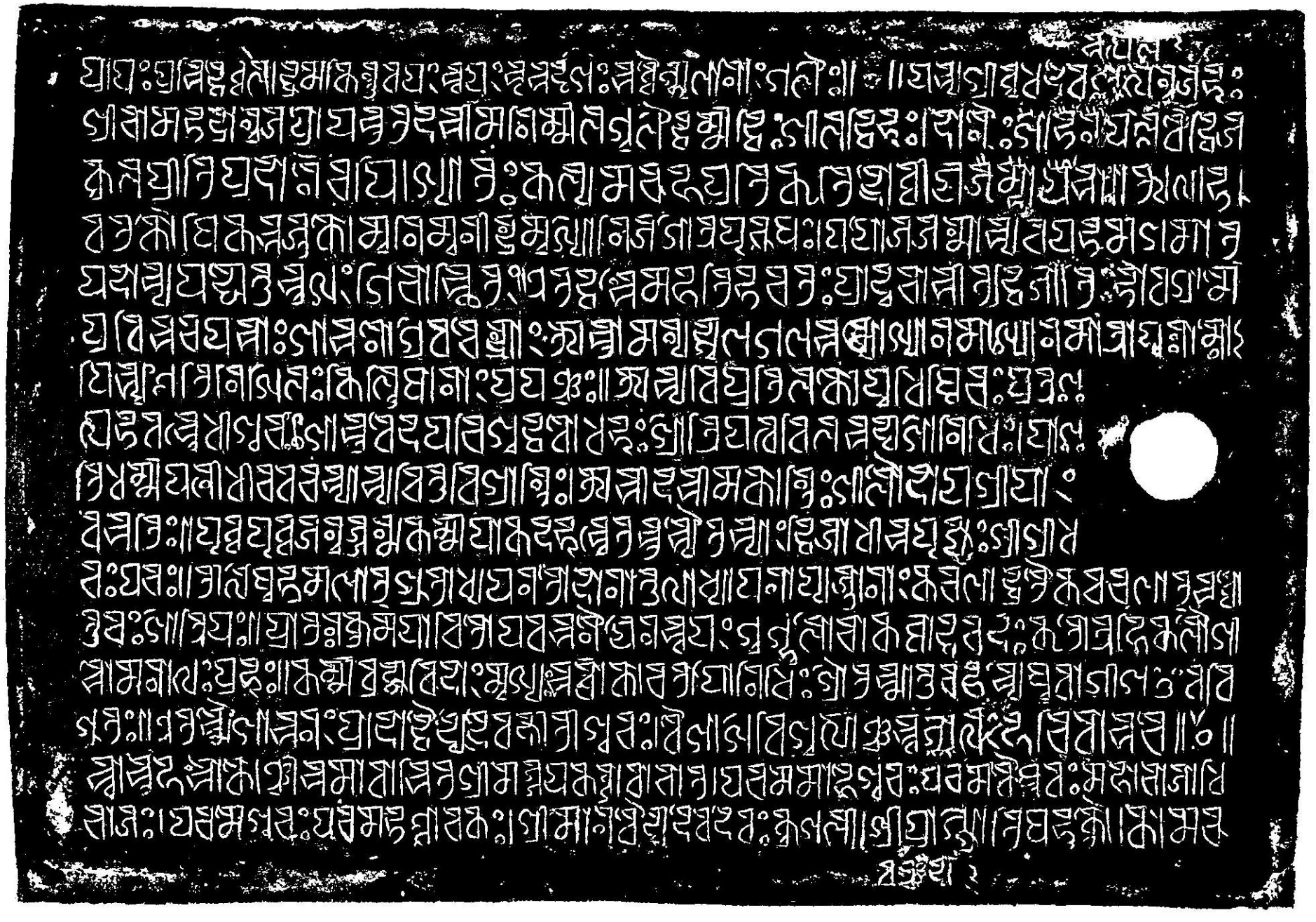

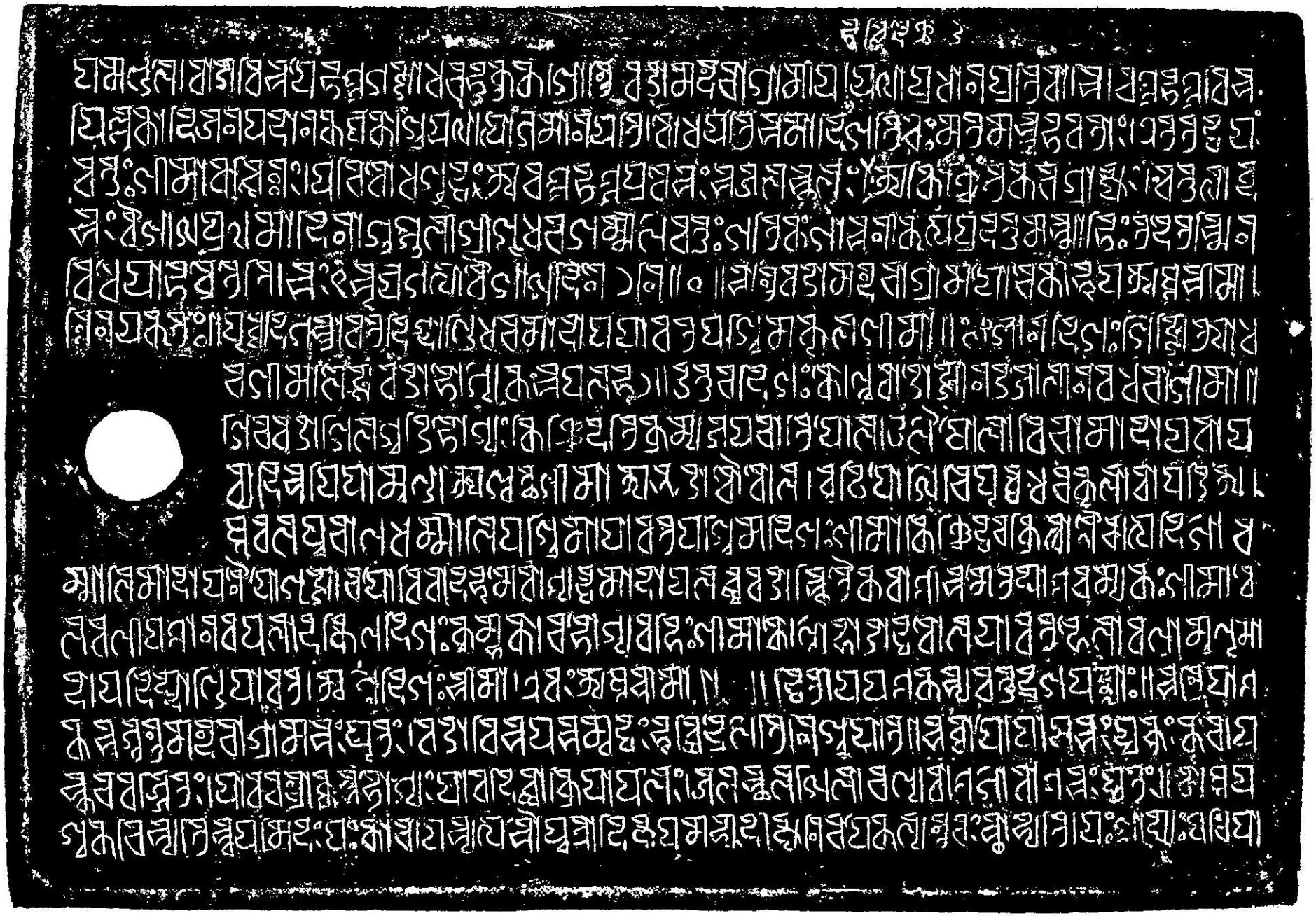

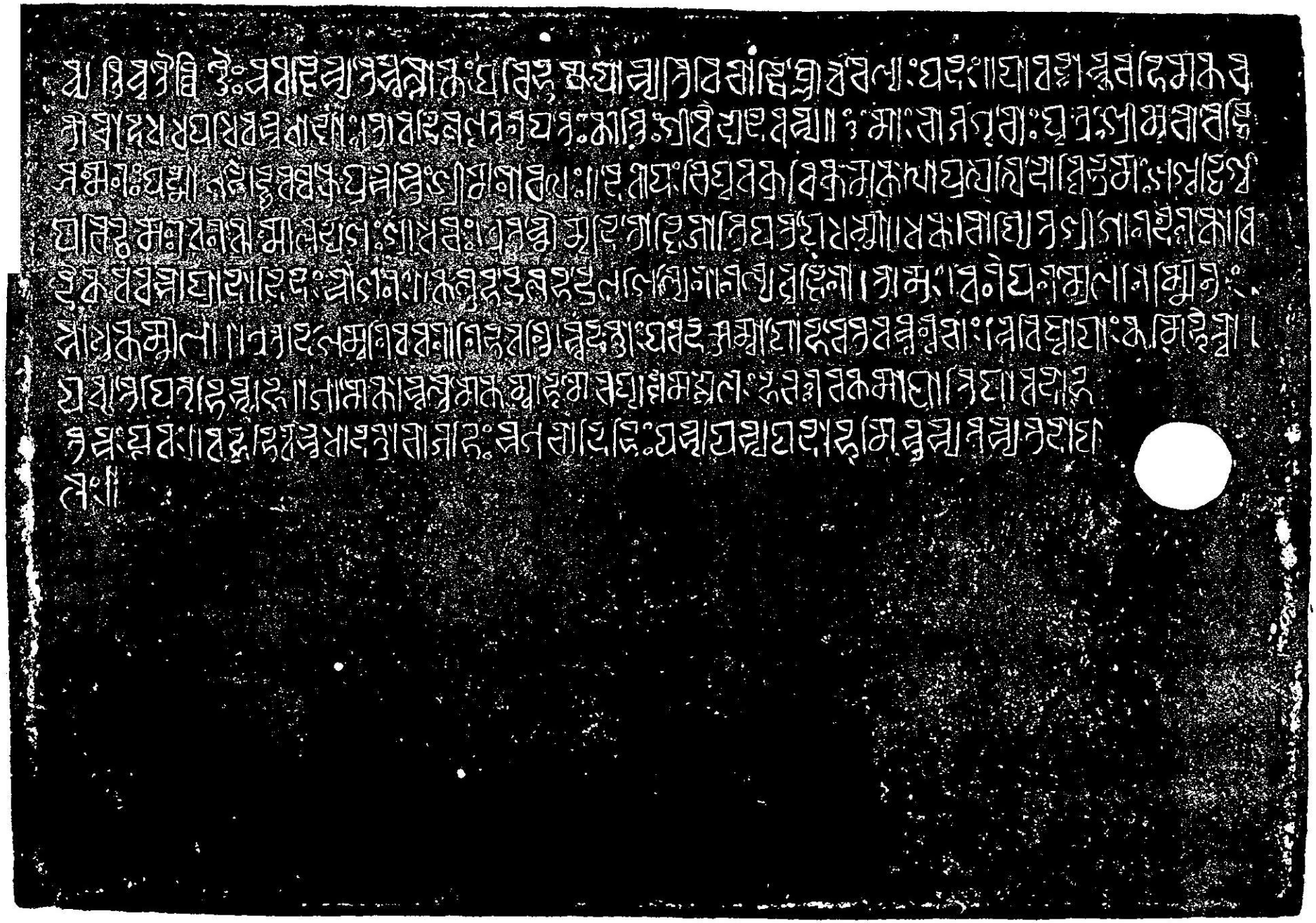

Size of original.

L. [42.] वसतिः ॥[56] (24). पूव्वपूव्वजनुज्जन्मकर्म्मपाकदभूत्सुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्यः[57] श्रीश्रीध-

[43.] रः परः ॥[58] (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां[59] करणाद्व्रतै-

[44.] कचरणात् सव्वो-

[45.] त्तरः शोत्रियः ॥ प्रातन्नक्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्य्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलोराकर्षाद्वरदः कृतोत्र हि कलौ शो-

[45.] सोमनाथः[60] प्रभुः ॥[61] (26). कर्म्मब्रह्मविदां मुख्यः सर्व्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्येषु[62]

[46.] वागीश इव वि-

[46.] श्रुतः ॥[63] (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्वैद्यदेवक्षीतीश्वरः । वैशाखे विशुत्याञ्च[64] स्वर्गार्थं हरि-

वासरे ॥0॥ (28).

[47.] स्वस्ति हंसाकोच्चीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात[65] । परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः महा-

राजाधि-

[48.] राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान[66] वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्तौ। कामरू-

Plate III, A.

[49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-

वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-

[50.] यिल्लकादिजनपदान कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवतां । एतत द्वयं

[51.] चतुःशीमावच्छिन्नं । परिबोधशुद्धं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेसं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चितकर-

ग्राह्यं[67] । चतुर्थाब्द

[52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीशृधरशर्म्मणे[68] चतुःशतिकं शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः तदेतस्मिन[69]

[53.] विधेया भवेतेति । सं ४ सूर्य्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-

कीभूय अष्टसीमा-

[54.] न्निनयकृतः ॥ पूव्वदिशस्तावत दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-

नदिशः शिङ्गिआध-

[55.] रशीमालिङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥

[56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उणैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-

[57.] व्यदिस पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अभडाचौवोल । वुढिपोखिरिपूर्व्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-

[58.] ष्टवलपुराणधर्म्मालि पश्चिमायावत पश्चिमदिशःशीमा किञ्चिद्वरक्रित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

[56] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[57] Read पूर्व्वपूर्व्वजनुर्ज्जन्मकर्म्मपाकादभूत्सुतः । द्विजाधीशपूज्यः

[58] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[59] Read तथाध्यापनाद्यज्ञानां

[60] Read सर्व्वोत्तरः श्रोत्रियः . प्रातन्न° . . श्रीसोमनाथः

[61] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[62] Read °निधिः । श्रौतस्मार्त्त°.

[63] Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyâvaktra.

[64] Read °क्षिती° विषुवत्याञ्च.

[65] Read °श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्.

[66] Read श्रीमान्.

[67] Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविषये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवाडामन्दराग्रामीययथाप्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिल्लकादिजनपदान् कर्षकांश्च यथात्यागं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्द्वयं चतुश्शीमावच्छिन्नं परिरोधशुद्धम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्यं.

[68] Read श्रीश्रीधर° With the परिबोध of the text (l. 3) compare the Pâli form पालिबोध = hindrance.

[69] Read तदेतस्मिन्.

L. [59.] म्मालिमादाय नैपोश्रृङ्गारयो विवादभूमेर्वाव्यर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-
चम्पकः श्रीमा वे-

[60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्यवह्निः श्रीमा कोण्टोहाडादुध्रवोलयावत
हेलावणामुण्डमा-

[61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिशः सीमा । एवं अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुर्दश-
पङ्क्तयाः ॥ सन्तिपाट-

[62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात ॥[70] (29). सव्वायोपाय-
संयुक्तं करोप-

[63.] स्करवज्जितं । । यावचन्द्राक्कसभोग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-
गोवाटसंयुतं[71] ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-

[64.] श्च करिस्यति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिस्यत्यसौ पुत्रादिक्षयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्पान्तरं स्थास्यति ।
यः श्लाघ्यः परिपा—

Plate III, B.

[65.] स्यति सुतैर्व्वितैः स वड्डिस्यते स्वल्लोकं परिभुज्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्यं पदं॥[72] (31).
यावद्भास्करहिमकर-

[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाद्याः । तावद्विलशतु नृपतेः कीर्त्तिः[73] श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य[74] ॥ (32). इमां
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीमुरारेर्द्वि-

[67.] जन्मनः पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथः[75] ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-
दोर्व्विभ्रमः शश्वद्दिश्व-

[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवोन्मीलद्यशः श्रीधरः । एतस्मै मुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्म्माधिकाराप्पितश्री-
गोनन्दनकोवि-

[69.] दैवावचसा प्रादादिदं शासनं[76] ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानल्पबुद्धिना । ताम्रं
विनयनम्रेण निर्म्मितं

[70.] साधुकर्म्मणा[77] ॥ (35). एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा

[71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्सह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकम्वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाङ्ग-

[72.] तसंप्लवं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

[73.] लं[78] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vâsudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (*i.e.* is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vigrahapâla, perfect in every accomplishment.

[70] Read° सन्न° °संयुतम् °विषय° निश्चयात्.

[71] Read सव्वायो°°वर्ज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्रार्कसंभोग्यं °फलम्° °संयुतम्

[72] Read कोष्ठे करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपालयिष्यति सुतैर्व्वि° वड्डिष्यते स्वर्लोकं पदम् ॥ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[73] Read °भूधरपयोधि° °लसतु कीर्त्तिः

[74] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[75] Read प्रशस्तिं. Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[76] Read °दोर्व्वि° °लद्यशाः शासनम्. Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[77] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[78] Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा °मङ्गुलम्। संप्लवम् फलम् ।

(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śâstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Râmapâla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pâla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathâvat*), Râmapâla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,[79] (as Râma gained Janakabhû, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sîtâ); and by killing king Bhîma,[80] as Râma killed Râvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Râma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Râmapâla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratâpadevî, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailâsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumârapâla, who was the son of the king Râma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakâ (*i.e.* Karṇa); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vaṅga,[81] if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumârapâla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

[79] *i.e.* Mithilâ. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

[80] I cannot identify the name.

[81] *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Nauvâṭa* see Dr. Hultzsch,—*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.

(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few-days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,[82] to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *araṇi*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pûrṇâhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Râhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalâdhâra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala* = *jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jalâdhâra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Râma*)—(for *in other points the comparison holds, thus*—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Mainâka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahîdhra*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pâtra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmî, and he of wealth (*śrî*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vṛihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champâ (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc.* Vṛihaspati etc.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*girâ*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother [83] was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Râma (*viz.* Lakshmaṇa) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharmma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

[82] It is his *karman* = (*prârabdha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

[83] *Anujabhûḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujâ bhûḥ* (*utpattiḥ*) *yasya so anujabhûḥ*.

(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatî rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brahmâ.

(22.) In his great *vaṁśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhâva,[84] in Varendrî appeared Bharata, a Brâhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishṭhira, chief of Brâhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śâstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pâî of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrîdhara, honoured among Brâhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tîrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrîdhara was chief among learned Brâhmaṇas. Through Śrîdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kâṇḍa* and the *Jñâna-kâṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrîdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śṛuti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrîdhara, at the Vishuvatî (*saṁkrânti*) in Vaiśâkha on Ekâdaśî, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].[85]

(29.) As determined by the *bhûmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipâṭaka[86] is joined to the village Mandarâ and belongs to the Baḍâ-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyâ*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

[84] *Śâsnogre* I take equal to *Ugraśasane*, the commoner bahuvrîhi.

[85] The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side *B*) after *harivâsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitîyapaṭakasya chaturddaśapaṅktyâḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

[86] Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *pâṭaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135) which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the *pâṭaka* adjoining the village Mandarâ and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍâ; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be Śânti; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of Śânti is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipâṭakasaṁjñaṁ* an adjective to Śâsanaṁ in verse 28: (observe also *idaṁ* in verse 31).

(33.) Manoratha, son of the brâhmaṇa *rajaguru* Murâri, and Padmâ, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrîdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śâsana to that brâhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmâdhikârin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishṇu, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Parameśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śânti-Baḍâ *and* Mandarâ possessed by Gaṅgâdhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *vishaya* of Baḍâ, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrîdhara Śarmâ (surnamed) Guggulî in ? ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśâkha by the movement of the sun.[87]

. . . . . [88]

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karṇabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis[89]:—

XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By Arthur Venis, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares.

No. I.[1]—Dated Saṁvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basâhi grant of Saṁvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.[2] The plate is 1′ 6″ long by 11″ broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basâhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śaṁkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nâgarî characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhûva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchhandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

[87] See above, p. 349.

[88] Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

[89] The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

[1] As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

[2] See Râjendralâla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1885) for the Basâhi plate.

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahîyalasutaḥ*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutah* or *Mahiâla-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,[3] *viz.* Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kârttika, 1162 Saṁvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishṇupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvatî-pattalâ in the Pañchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vîlhâkâya Dîkshita, who came originally from Sâvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravâsa and grandson of Nâgânanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula *gotra* with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvâmitra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्दीयमान . . . दशव (ब) धविशतिकवथाकेरे तुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृति . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadâsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pratîhara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jâgûka, the *mahattaka* Vâlhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Râlhadevî.

Text.

Front.

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्यं सर्व्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्महे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रीव क्रोडान्तःस्थं वलित्रयी ॥ (1).[4] वंसे गाहडवालाख्ये बभूव विजयी नृपः ॥[5]

[2.] महीयलसुतः श्रीमान्बलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).[6] याते श्रीभोजभूपे विबुधवरवधूनेत्रसीमातिथित्वं[7] श्रीकर्णे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्ष्मात्यये जायमाने ।

[3.] भर्त्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता त्राता विश्वस्य पूर्व्वं समभवदिह स क्ष्मापतिश्चंद्रदेवः[8] (3).[9] ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिपदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः क्षोणीपति-

[4.] र्मदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त बभुशः समरप्रबन्धाः सन्वर्त्तितप्रहतशत्रुकबन्धबन्धाः[10] ॥ (4).[11] तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृंदवंद्यपादारविंदयुगलो ज्व-

[5.] लितप्रतापः । क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरंगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र[12] इति विश्रुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5)[13]॥ तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्तसौर्यैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणक्किणश्रेणी म-

[3] Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—"For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *tithi* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day."

[4] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read वंशे . . नृपः

[6] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read विबुध.

[8] Read चन्द्रदेवः

[9] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[10] Read बहुशः. °प्रबन्धा . कबन्धबन्धाः

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Read °इन्दवन्द्यपादारविन्द° रिपुरङ्गभङ्गी गोविन्दचन्द्र°

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्यते ॥ (6).[14] संवत्सहस्रैके द्विषष्ठ्युत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्त्तिकशैर्णमास्यां भौमे दिने ऽङ्केपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भौमे[15] अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-

[7.] विजयकटके सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मंत्रदेवऋषिमनुष्य-भूतपितॄंस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महश्व-

[8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । मंत्रपूतं भुतवह हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीआ-वतीपत्तलायां उसिथागामे समस्तविषयसार्ध्ववर्त्तिसमस्त-

[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्संबोधयति समाज्ञापयति ॥[16] यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सगर्त्तोषरपाषाणः स-

[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्तः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्ज्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।

[11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवित[17] विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य । जलवुद्बुदाकारं यौवनं परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-

[12.] त् संसारमसारतरं[18] समाकलय्य ॥ साविथदेशनिर्गताय वाजसनेयसाखोद्भगाय वंधुलगोत्राय वधुल अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रत्रिप्रवराय[19] ॥

[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्क-राय[20] दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । श्रद्धाविशुद्धमनसा

[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमद्गोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्त्तिक्यां निमित्ते सम्यगाजूयास्मै ब्राह्मणार्या मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-

[15.] वृद्धये चंद्रार्कक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः[21] ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिकुवथाकेरे तुरु-

[16.] ष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्व्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मै निसेदनीय[22] ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले कि वा परस्मित्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-

[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्व्वामात्रमपि स्वधर्म्मनिरता दत्त सदा पाल्यता वायुर्वास्यति तस्थ्यति प्रतपन श्रुत्व मुनीना वचः[23] ॥ (7).[24] अत्राथ पौराणिकाः

[18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि[25] यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).[26] योर्च्चितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्च्चि-

[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्ग नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). वहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-रादिभिः । यस्य सत्य यदा भुगिस्तम्य तस्य वदा

[20.] फलं[27] ॥ (10). यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवत्तत्प्रति मानि[28] तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).[29] अस्मत्कुलं पर-

[14] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Read °पौर्णमास्यां and १५ instead of ५.

[16] Read गङ्गायां मन्त्रदेवऋषिमनुष्यभूतपितॄंस्तर्पयित्वा . . महेश्वरं . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं° पञ्चालं° °ग्रामे °पार्श्ववर्त्ति °पदान् सम्बोध°; remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

[17] Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल ; and read प्राणिनां जीवितं.

[18] Read बुद्बुदा° °सारतरं.

[19] Read °शाखामृगाय वन्धुलाघमर्ष°

[20] Read °नागानन्द° यजुर्वेद°

[21] Read श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवेन . . सम्यगाज्ञया° . ब्राह्मणार्याय . . °रात्मन° . . चन्द्रार्कक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि . . शासनीकृत्य.

[22] Read °सर्व्वादायान् °निवेदनीयम्

[23] Read परस्मिन्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाञ्जलिर्विरचिती नादेयमस्मात् कियत् । . स्वधर्म्म °दत्तं . पाल्यतां तस्थ्यति . श्रुत्वा मुनीनां

[24] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[25] Read भूमिं

[26] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the two following verses.

[27] Read वहुभिर्व° . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

[28] Read निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि

[29] Metre: Indravajrâ.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA AND RECORD

E.P.E

OF

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EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., C.I.E.,

F.R.G.S.; M.R.A.S.; M. SOC. AS. PARIS; HON. ASSOC. R.I.B.A.; HON. COR. MEM. BERLIN SOCIETY OF ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, ETC.;
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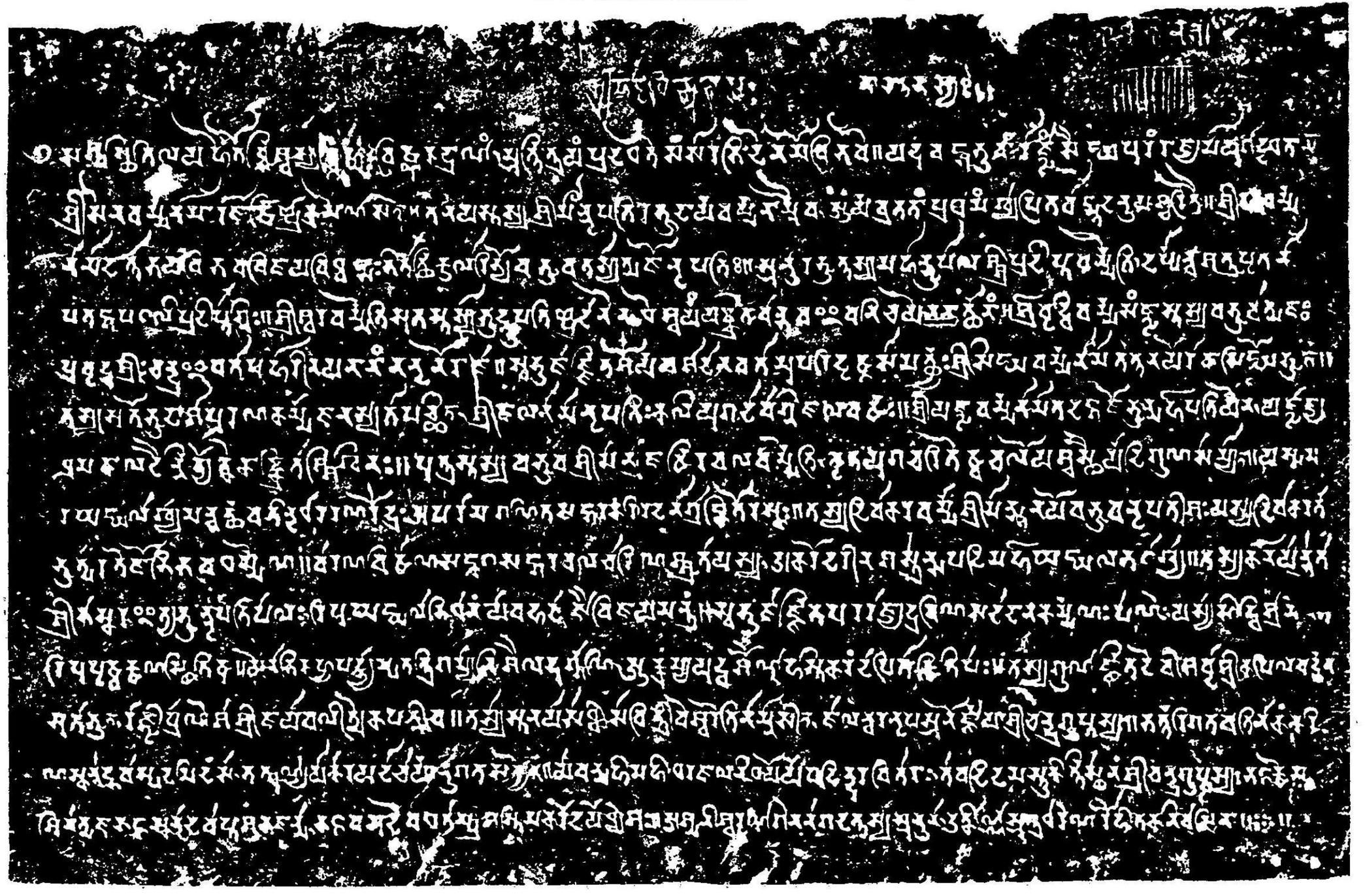

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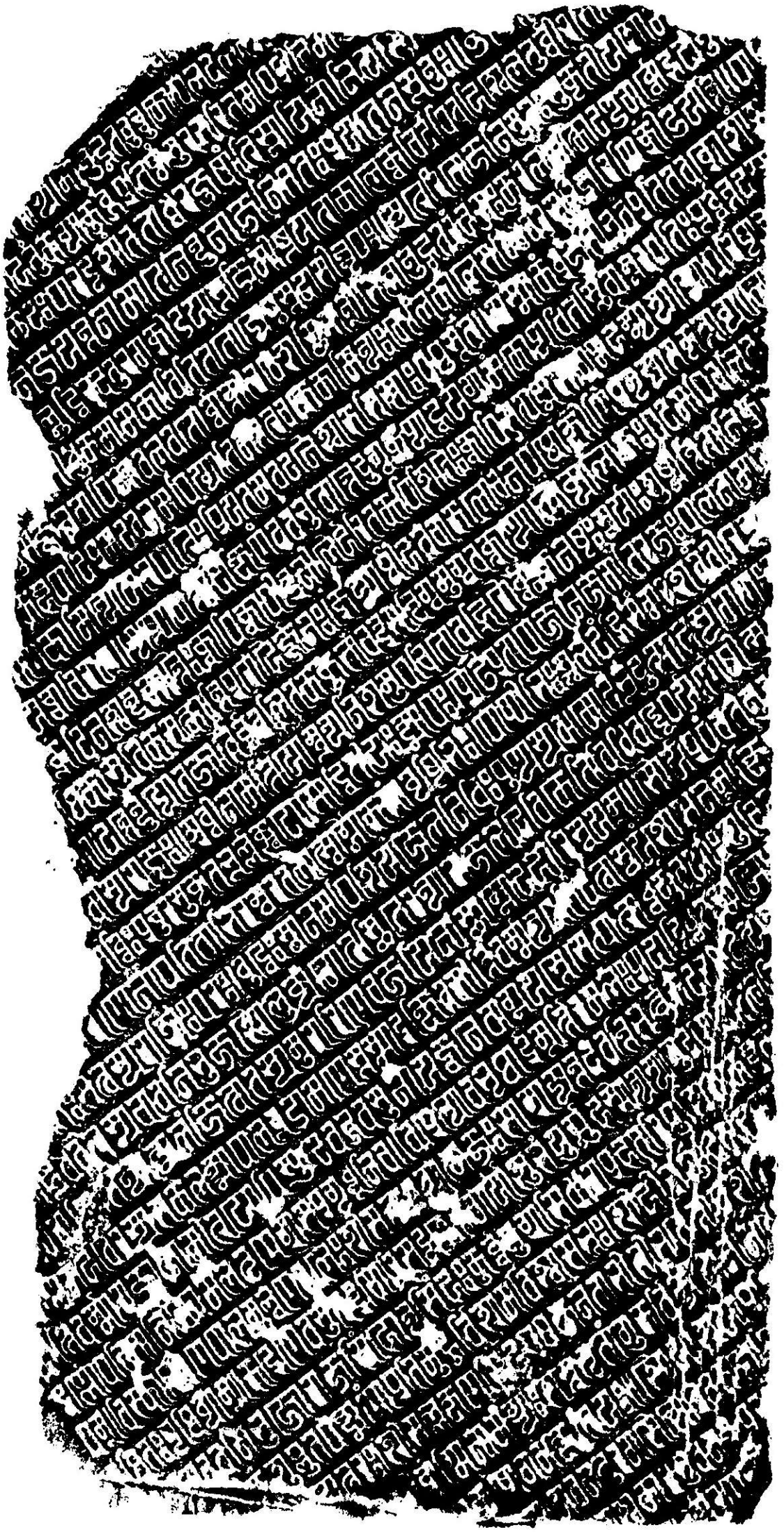

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9. His son was the illustrious *mahârâja* Shaṇḍa, who was very brave, a mine [79] of all virtues, proud and powerful. He quickly dispersed, surrounded and burnt the kings, like thorns, conquered by the strength of his arm his own kingdom which had fallen off, and made the earth subject to one (*royal*) parasol.

10. In the jail of this sovereign, people incessantly heard the harsh clinking of the chains which were attached to the tender feet of the wives of his enemies.

11. From this famous (*prince*) there sprang this (*present*) king called Śubhatuṅga, the same whom people praise in song by his other name Akâlavarsha.

12. His deeds resemble those of Kṛishṇa; for, having killed his foes, he bears the kingdom for the welfare of the (*four*) castes and the earth with his arm, like Kṛishṇa.[80]

13. Through his favour [81] great fortune came to the race of Brahmavaka; (*this fortune*) is incessantly and openly proclaimed by the great poets of later times.

14. From this ocean-like race there arose the illustrious . . . Kumbaḍi, and from him the illustrious Degaḍi, the destroyer of the pride of his enemies; the eternal fame which he, alone (*but*) without fear, obtained by destroying the elephants of many princes, pervaded the battle-fields, as that of a lion does the forests.

15. As the sun from Kaśyapa, there sprang from him the fierce and illustrious Râjahaṁsa, whose far-reaching and hard hands (*or hot rays*) overcame all kings (*or mountains*) and who was rising daily; he who, like Pârtha (*Arjuna*), knew how to destroy his foes, led fickle fortune, who was wandering somewhere else, again to his own beautiful temple of Śaṁbhu (*Śiva*).[82]

16. Like (*Hanumat*) the son of the wind, there was born the illustrious Dhavalappa, who conquered all his enemies, whose name was well-known, and who whitened the world with his fame.

17. Becoming (*as it were*) a lion and being desirous of fame, he quickly killed the enemy and restored to his master the province, which (*this unnamed enemy*) had taken.

18. From him came Prachaṇḍa, who was eager for fame in war, and the spotless Akkuva, who is renowned on earth by his sword.

19. Sella-Vidyâdhara[83] also, whose hands were as graceful as the *śelu* (*plant*), adorned his race with fame by killing his enemies in battle.

20. The illustrious Vallabharâja Akâlavarsha possesses seven hundred and fifty villages, which are designated by (*their chief-town*) Śrî-Harshapura.

(Line 31.) He informs all who shall come (*to this village*) :—gracious princes, great vassals, ministers, commanders of the army, heads of districts and great men,—

(L. 33.) "Be it known to you that, while in these seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrî-Kheṭaka, Harshapura, and Kâsadraha, the illustrious Chandragupta was the *daṇḍanâyaka* of the *mahâsâmanta* Prachaṇḍa, who has obtained the five *mahâśabdas*, I gave as a donation the village of Vyâghrâsa, which is included in the ten (*villages*) of

[79] On account of the metre, *âkâra* is used for *âkara*.

[80] This verse alludes to the real name of the king, *viz.* Kṛishṇa.

[81] Literally: "through the power of his feet."

[82] The meaning of the second half of this verse seems to be, that Râjahaṁsa dedicated the booty of his warlike expeditions to a temple of Śiva which he himself had built.

[83] This person seems to have been a brother of Prachanda and Akkuva.

Râriddhâ, which belong to the eighty-four (*villages*) of Karpaṭavâṇijya, which are included in the seven hundred and fifty (*villages*) of Śrî-Harshapura, together with its rows of trees, together with (*the right to*) punishment and (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, up to its boundaries, together with its timber, grass, wells and tanks, together with its enjoyments and shares, together with its gold, defined by its four boundaries, together with its pasture and straw ;— the boundaries are (*here*) written: on the east, the village of Panthoḍâ and Vitkhâvallî; on the south, the village of Keraḍavallî and the village of Araluvaka;[84] on the west, Nâvâlikâ and Apûvallî; on the north, the village of Ambâüñcha ;—the village of Vallûrikâ, thus defined by its four boundaries, to the *brâhmaṇa* Brahmabhaṭṭa, who is the son of Vavva, lives at Bhaṭṭa (!), belongs to the Bharadvâja-*gotra* and studies the Vâji-Mâdhyaṁdina (*śâkhâ*), after having bathed, with a libation of water, in order (*to enable the donee to perform*) the *bali, charuka* and *vaiśvadeva*. Therefore, all future rulers shall preserve and assent to the charitable gift which was given by us, without obstructing us."

(L. 44.) And the saint Vyâsa has said:— [Here follow twelve of the customary imprecatory verses which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 59). This is the signature of the illustrious Akkuka, the son of the illustrious Dhavalappa. *Śaka-saṁvat* 832, on *Mahâ-vaiśâkhî*, (*i.e.*) on the full-moon in the bright half of *Vaiśâkha*, (*the above-mentioned village*) was given, with the exception of previous gifts to temples and to Brâhmaṇas. This edict was written by the noble (*kula-putraka*) Ammaiyaka, the son of Nemâditya. What syllable in this (*document*) is too few or too many, all that is valid; for even a man who resembles Vyâsa is liable to make mistakes. This is the signature of the illustrious Chandragupta.

IX.—TWO CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TRIŚIRAPALLI ROCK.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.,

Epigraphist to the Archæological Survey, Southern India.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on two pillars in a rock-cut cave not far from the summit of the well-known rock at Triśirâpaḷḷi (Trichinâpaḷḷi). They are both somewhat worn. The left pillar was covered by a modern wall, which the temple authorities temporarily removed at the request of the Collector, W. A. Willock, C.S. Each of the two pillars bears four Sanskrit verses. Besides, the lower part of the left pillar bears a few unintelligible Sanskrit words and a much defaced inscription in old Tamil characters.

The two inscriptions record that a king Guṇabhara, who bore the birudas—Purushottama, Śatrumalla and Satyasaṁdha, constructed a temple of Śiva on the top of the mountain and placed in it a *liṅga* and a statue of himself. Each of the two pillars mentions the river Kâvîrî, *i.e.* the Kâverî, on whose banks Triśirâpaḷḷi is situated,

[84] Compare the village of Araluäṁ in the Ilâo grant of Dadda II., *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, p. 117.

and refers to the Choḷa country. On the left pillar the Kâvîrî is called 'the beloved of the Pallava'; this means in prose that a Pallava king ruled over the country along the banks of the Kâverî river. This allusion and the fact, that the characters of the two pillar inscriptions remind us of those of the Pallava inscriptions at Mâmallapuram and Kâñchîpuram, make it very probable that Guṇabhara was a Pallava prince who ruled over the Choḷa country.

A.—PILLAR TO THE LEFT.

TEXT.

[1] कावीरीन्नयनाभिरामसलिलामारा-
[2] ममालाधराम् देवो वीक्ष्य नदीप्रियः
[3] प्रिय[गु]णामप्येष[1] रज्येदिति [।×][2] साशं-
[4] का गिरिकन्यका पितृकुलं हित्वेह मन्ये गि-
[5] [रौ] नित्यन्तिष्ठति पल्लवस्य दयितामेतां ब्रु-
[6] वाणा नदीम् ॥ [१×] गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लि-
[7] ङ्गेन लिङ्गिनि ज्ञानम् [।×] प्रथताच्चिराय लोके वि-
[8] पक्षवृत्तेः परावृत्तम् ॥ [२×] चोळविषयस्य शैलो
[9] मौलिरिवायं महामणिरिवास्य [।×] हरगृहमेत-
[10] ज्जगतिस्तदीयमिव शांकरं ज्योतिः ॥ [३×] शिला[ख]रे-
[11] ण जनिता सत्यसन्धस्य भौतिकी [।×] मूर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिम-
[12] यी चास्य कृता तेनैव शाश्वती ॥ [४×] निष्कृ[ष्य] चला [स]-
[13] मधायि [गुणभ]रे भक्तिः * *

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Being afraid that the god who is fond of rivers (*Śiva*), having perceived the Kâvîrî, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love (*with her*), the daughter of the mountain (*Pârvatî*), has, I think, left her father's family and resides permanently on this mountain, calling this river the beloved of the Pallava (*king*).[3]

(2.) While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the liṅga, let the knowledge which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this liṅga![4]

(3.) This mountain resembles the diadem of the Choḷa province, this temple of Hara (*Śiva*) its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śaṁkara (*Śiva*) its splendour.

(4.) By the stone-chisel a material body of Satyasaṁdha[5] was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

[1] ष looks like प .

[2] In the transcripts, a small star × attached to a mark of punctuation, letter, or numeral in square brackets [ ], indicates that it did not exist in the original, but has been supplied.—Ed.

[3] Pârvatî calls Kâvîrî the wife of another, in order to prevent Śiva from coveting her.

[4] This whole verse has a double entendre. It contains allusions to the Indian logic (*tarkaśâstra*), in which *liṅgin* means the subject of a proposition, *liṅga* the predicate of a proposition and *vipaksha* an instance on the opposite side.

[5] Satyasaṁdha must have been a *biruda* of Guṇabhara. A statue of the king is also alluded to in the first verse on the right pillar.

B.—PILLAR TO THE RIGHT.

TEXT.

[1] शैलेन्द्रमूर्द्धनि शिलाभवने विचित्रे
[2] शैलीन्तनुं गुणभरो नृपतिर्विधाय [।×]
[3] स्थाणुं व्यध[त्त] वि[धि]रेष यथार्थसंज्ञं
[4] स्थाणुः स्वयञ्च सह तेन जगत्सु जातः [॥ १×]
[5] गृहमकृत शत्रुमल्लो गिरिन्द्र[6]कन्या-
[6] पतेर्गिरावस्मिन् [।×] गिरिशस्य गिरिश-
[7] [सं]ज्ञामन्वर्थीकर्तुमर्त्यपतिः ॥ [२×]
[8] विभूतिञ्चोळानां कथमहमवेक्षे-
[9] य विपुलां नदीं वा कावीरीमवनिभवनाव-
[10] स्थित इति [।×] हरेणोक्तः प्रीत्या विभुरदिश-
[11] दभ्रंलिहमिदम्मनुप्र[ख्यो राज्ये] गरिभवन-[7]
[12] मस्मै गुणभरः ॥ [३×] निर्म्मापिता[मिति मुदा]
[13] पुरुषोत्तमेन शैलीं हरस्य तनुमप्रति-
[14] मामनेन [।×] कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि [धा]रयतात्म-
[15] संस्थमुच्चैःशिरस्त्वमच[लस्य] कृतं कृता-
[16] र्थम् ॥ [४×]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) When king Guṇabhara placed a stone-figure in the wonderful stone-temple on the top of the best of mountains, he made in this way[8] Sthâṇu (*Śiva*) stationary[9] and became himself stationary (i.e., *immortal*) in the worlds together with him.

(2.) King Śatrumalla built on this mountain a temple of Giriśa (*Śiva*), the husband of the daughter of the king of mountains, in order to make the name Giriśa (i.e., *the mountain-dweller*) true to its meaning.

(3.) After Hara (*Śiva*) had graciously asked him: "How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Choḷas or the river Kâvîrî?"—king Guṇabhara, who resembled Manu in his manner of ruling, assigned to him this mountain-temple which touches the clouds.

(4.) Thus having joyfully placed on the top (of the mountain) a matchless stone-figure of Hara (*Śiva*), which he caused to be executed, that Purushottama, who bore Śiva fixed in his mind, made the loftiness of the mountain fruitful.

[6] Read गिरीन्द्र.
[7] Read गिरिभवन.
[8] Literally: 'this was the way.'
[9] Literally: 'he made Sthâṇu (i. e., *the stationary one*) one whose name was true to its meaning.'

X.—BADÂUN STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKHANAPALA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

This inscription was found in August 1887, in the ruins of the south gate of the old fort of Badâun,[1] the chief town of the Badâun District of the North-Western Provinces, whence it has been removed to the Lucknow Museum.

The writing covers a space of about 3 feet broad by 1 foot 6 inches high, but the inscription is not complete now. All along the top, on the proper left side all the way down, and at the left side of the bottom, portions of the stone are broken away. But the *aksharas* which in consequence are missing on the left side are few, and can in almost every case be easily supplied; and at the top probably only one or two lines are lost, containing little more than the customary blessings and verses in honour of some deity, in the present case, probably Śiva; and the introductory historical portion of the inscription, at any rate, appears to be complete. Nor does anything of importance seem to have been lost in the concluding lines, in the verses which either refer to the composer of the inscription or express the usual wish that the temple, the erection of which is recorded here, may last for ever. Excepting about half a dozen *aksharas* at the beginning of the last line, what remains of the inscription is well preserved, and may be read with certainty.

The average size of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$, and is somewhat less in the four or five bottom lines. The characters are Devanâgarî of about the 12th or 13th century A.D., and the inscription was engraved by the two artizans Gôge and Jîlhe (line 23). The language is Sanskṛit, and excepting what possibly is a date, at the beginning of line 23, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses were, it appears, composed by the poet Govindachandra, who is described as the youngest of the five sons of Gaṅgâdhara (himself the son of the sage Sômêśvara, a resident of Âhâḍegaḍha) and his wife Sûlhâ, a daughter of the learned Paraśurâma (lines 21—22). The inscription is remarkably free from minor errors, and in respect of orthography I therefore have only to note that *ba* is represented by the sign for *va* everywhere except in the word *ârabdha* in line 23.

The inscription possibly, at the beginning of line 23, contains a date which at present, unfortunately, I am unable to make out from the impression submitted to me. Certain it is that it refers itself to the reign of a prince, Lakhaṇapâla, and that it records the erection of a Śiva-temple at the place, it may be presumed, where the inscription was discovered, and which is called here Vodâmayûtâ (lines 1 and 11). And from these two points of view the inscription may be conveniently divided into two portions, the first of which, extending to near the end of line 7, gives the genealogy of Lakhaṇapâla, while the second part, comprising about lines 8—20, has reference to the founder of the temple and his spiritual predecessors. Of this latter portion it is sufficient to give

[1] In the inscription, the place is called Vodâmayûtâ (lines 1 and 11) and described as "the town of Bharata" (line 20.) Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1, states that, according to the Brâhmans, its original name was either "Bedamau" or "Bedamâya." [Conf. *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, vol. V, pp. 157 to 160. It is also written Badâyûn.—J. B.]

an abstract of the contents; regarding the prince Lakhaṇapâla and his ancestors, the writer of the inscription expresses himself as follows :—

(L. 1). "[*Here* [2]] where the rising of the whole assemblage of evils is far removed by the floods of water of the river of heaven, [3] [*there is*] the town Vodâmayûtâ, ornamenting the land named Pañchâla, (*and*) protected by the arms of all the famous princes born in the Râshṭrakûṭa family. Radiant with prosperity, inasmuch as its enemies were feeble and the excellent well-disposed persons in it many, ornamented with the best of horses, (*and*) surrounded by trees resembling the trees of paradise, pleasing with its lofty spotless [temples] (*and*) a seat of law-abiding people, this beautiful (*town*) with its collections of excellencies shone like the city of Indra, radiant with the wealth of very many excellent flowers of *mandâra* [4] trees, ornamented with the best of Gandharvas, (*and*) surrounded by *saṁtâna* and *kalpa* trees, pleasing with its lofty pure [habitations] of the gods, (*and*) the seat of the assembly of the immortals."

(L. 2). "There, there was first, endowed with endless excellencies, the lord of men, Chandra, who by the terror of his sword terrified the host of the enemies; whose son Vigrahapâladeva protected the earth, well known among adversaries (*and*) munificent towards supplicants. His son, known by the name of Bhuvanapâla, (*was*) certainly, manifested as it were to the eyes, the law incarnate; when, after having protected the earth, he had gone to heaven, his son Gopâladeva guarded (*the earth*), and when he, the remover of the distress of the people, had assumed the reign, the castes, delighting in their several duties, attained to happiness."

(L. 3). "Afterwards his son Tribhuvana protected the earth, humbling the multitude of enemies (*and in consequence*) endowed with fame. When (*this*) his brother by the decree of fate had gone to heaven, then the same land was ruled over by the prince Madanapâla, in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Hambîra's [5] coming to the banks of the river of the gods. Afterwards his younger brother, who destroyed hundred thousands of proud adversaries (*and who was*) munificent (*and*) compassionate, protected the earth, bearing on earth the excellent name of the illustrious Devapâla, a recital of whose deeds might secure victory even to-day."

(L. 5). "(*Then*) his son became king, installed in the place of his father as the illustrious Bhîmapâla, who defeated the difficult-to-be-conquered hostile heroes (*and*) whose excellent body was spotless like gold, a born ruler, causing welfare, devoted to the gods and to Brâhmaṇs. Then there came, to protect the earth, his son, known the world over as the illustrious Sûrapâla, (*who among princes was*) what Indra is in the assembly of the gods, what the moon is in the assembly of the stars, what (*Indra's elephant*) Airâvaṇa is among the choicest of elephants, (*and*) what the lion is among the wild beasts. His son was Amṛitapâla, who, endowed with prowess, frightened all enemies by the sharp sword of his hand, who was devoted to the twice-born, the elders, and the gods, attached to every science, (*and*) the preceptor as it were of all whose weapons deal out stern punishment."

[2] The beginning of this verse, together with the verse or verses which must have preceded it, is broken away.

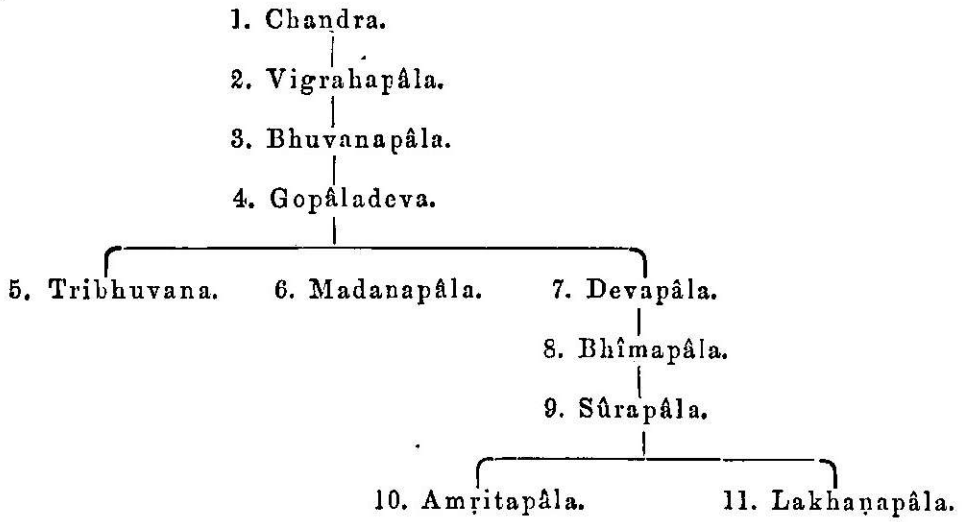
[3] *i. e.*, the Ganges.

[4] The *mandâra*, *saṁtâna*, and *kalpa* trees are trees of Indra's paradise.

[5] The usual spelling of this word is Hammîra; see, *e.g.*, the Royal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vijayachandra and Jayachchandra, line 8, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 7. [For the application of *Haṁmîraḥ* as used on coins, see Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi*, pp. 50n. and 136n.—J. B.]

(L. 7). "May his younger brother, the prince Lakhaṇapâla, who has succeeded him, remain here billions of ages!—he, whose munificence is boundless, (*and*) the multitudes of whose missile weapons, resembling the scorching rays of the sun, drink streams of blood from the bodies of distinguished enemies!"

Put into the form of a tabular statement, the genealogy here furnished to us is as follows:—



Beyond these names, and the statement that these princes belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭa clan (which appears to connect them with the Râṭhôr rulers of Kanauj), and that the town Vodâmayûtâ was ruled over by them, we learn nothing of historical importance from the inscription. Nor have I been able to gather any certain information about these rulers from other inscriptions, or from the historical works which I have consulted. Most of the names, of course, do occur elsewhere, but the only name ending in *pâla*, distinctly connected with the town of Badâun, is that of Mahîpâla, "the Tomar Râja of Dehli, who," according to Sir A. Cunningham,[6] "is said to have built the great fort on which part of the city now stands," as well as a temple, on the site of which the Muhammadans built the present Jâmî' Masjid; and Mahîpâla's name does *not* occur here. The reference to Hambîra (or the Hambîras), in line 4, appears clearly to point to the invasions of the Muhammadans.

After the above historical introduction, the inscription goes on to relate that there was once a Śaiva ascetic, called Varmaśiva, whose home was Aṇahilapâṭaka, and who, after destroying by the efficacy of his *mantras* an idol which had been set up by Bauddhas in Dakshiṇâpatha, and after giving other proofs of his piety and superhuman power in Kaśmîr, on his wanderings also came to Vodâmayûtâ, where, by Devapâla's minister Rulhâ, he was appointed head of a *maṭha* or monastery of the town (lines 8—12). In this office he appears to have been succeeded by another holy and renowned personage, named Mûrtigaṇa, who became the spiritual adviser of the prince Sûrapâladêva (lines 13—15). Mûrtigaṇa's place, again, was taken, during the reign of Amṛitapâla, by his pupil Îśânaśiva, who is described as born in Gauḍa, as belonging to the Vatsabhârgava *gotra*, with the five *pravaras* Bhârgava, Chyavana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, and Jamadagni, and as the eldest son of the twice-born

[6] *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 1.—A prince 'Depâl,' with the date A.D. 1256, and a prince 'Lâkhan Pâl, with the date A.D. 1330, are mentioned, *ib.*, vol. XX, pp. 13 and 14.

Vasâvaṇa, a resident of Siṁhapallî in the Hariyâṇa country. This Îśânaśiva, persuaded of the vanity of worldly affairs, founded the temple of Śiva at which this inscription must be supposed to have been put up originally, and endowed it with (the revenues of) a place called Bhadaṇaulikâ (lines 16—21). This portion of the inscription closes with a verse (line 21) which appears to intimate that the minister Rulhâ, mentioned above, was succeeded in his office by Lakshmîdhara and Jagatpâla, who were as devout workshippers of Śiva as their predecessor.

Of the places and districts, which, besides Vodâmayûtâ, are mentioned in the inscription, Aṇahilapâṭaka is the well-known Aṇhilwâḍa in Western India, and Hariyâṇa the modern Hariâna, described in the *Imperial Gazetteer* as a tract of country in the Hissâr District of the Panjâb. The places Siṁhapallî (l. 16), Bhadaṇaulikâ, and Âhâḍegaḍha (l. 21) I am unable to identify.

Text.[1]

. . . . . .

L. 1. [svaḥsi]ndh[2]-ûdaka-pûra-dûra-gamit-âśêsh-âgha-saṁgh-ôdayê | prakhyât-âkhila-Râshṭrakûṭa-kulaja-kshmâpâla-dôḥ-pâlitâ Paṁchâl-âbhidha-dêśa-bhûshaṇa-karî Vôdâmayûtâ purî || Maṁdârâtiva(ba)hu-prakṛishṭa-sumanaḥ-sampatti-saṁ-[ś]ôbhitâ gaṁdharvv-ôttama-bhûshitâ parivṛitâ saṁtânakalpadrumaiḥ | atyuchch-âmala-dêva-[maṁ ?] ◡◡◡

2. nâ ramyâ sudharmm-âśrayô yâ rêjê guṇa-saṁchayair=iva purî Paurandarî sundarî || Tatr[3]=âditô=bhavad=ananta-guṇô narêndraś=Chandraḥ sva-khaḍga-bhaya-bhîshita-vairi-[vṛi]ndaḥ | prathyarthishu prakaṭitô=rthishu yasya dâtâ kshôṇîṁ raraksha suta-Vigrahapâladêvaḥ || Tasy=â[tma]—[4]

3. Bhuvanapâla iti prasiddhaḥ pratyaksha-lakshya iva mûrtti-dharô hi dharmaḥ | tasmin=prapâlya vasudhâṁ divi saṁprayâtê Gôpâladêva iti tat-tanayô jugôpa | (||) Yatra prajâ-durita-hâriṇi lavdha(bdha)-râjyê varṇṇâḥ sva-karma-niratâḥ sukhitâm=avâpuḥ || (|) tat-sûnur=ânamita-vairi-kadaṁva(ba)kô=taḥ kîrty[5]-a[nv]i—[6]

4. s=Tribhuvanô bhuvanaṁ raraksha || Sva-bhrâtari svar=upayâtavati sva-daivât=s=aiv=âvanir=Madanapâla-nṛipêṇa bhuktâ | yat-paurushât=pravarataḥ surasindhu-tîra-Hamvî(mbî)ra-saṁgama-kathâ na kadâchid=âsît || Tasy=ânujô dalita-dṛipta-vipaksha-lakshô dâtâ dayâlur=avanîm=avati sma paśchât [|×]

5. śrî-Dêvapâla-vara-nâma-dharô[dharâyâ]m=ady=âpi yach-charita-varṇṇanatô jayaḥ syât || Tasy=âtmajô vijita-durjaya-vairi-vîro râj=âbhavat=kanaka-nirmala-sach-chharîraḥ | garbhêśvaraḥ śubha-karaḥ sura-vipra-bhaktaḥ śrî-Bhîmapâla iti tâta-padê=bhishiktaḥ || Tat-saṁbhavô=bhavad=a—[7]

6. vani-pâlanâya śrî-Sûrapâla iti sarvva-jagat-prasiddhaḥ | Śakrô yathâ sura-gaṇê bha-gaṇê śaśâṁka Airâvaṇô gaja-varêshu mṛigêshu siṁhaḥ || Abhavad[8]=Amṛitapâlas=tasya putraḥ pratâpî nija-kara-niśit-âsi-trâsit-âśêsha-śatruḥ | dvija-guru-sura-bhaktaḥ sarvva-[śâ]—[9]

[1] From an impression supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.—The first half of the line, preceding that here numbered 1, is entirely gone, and of the second half only the lower portions of the *aksharas* are left.

[2] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[3] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the next six verses.

[4] *i.e.*, *âtmajô*.

[5] Originally *kîrtyâ-*.

[6] *i.e.*, *anvitaa*.

[7] *i.e.*, *atô-*.

[8] Metre, Mâlinî; and of the next verse.

[9] *i.e.*, *-śâstrâ-*.

7. nuraktô gurur=iva sakalânâm=ugra-daṁḍ-âyudhânâṁ || Tad=anu tad-anujâtô âta-dân-âtirêkô nṛipati-Lakhaṇapâlaḥ kalpa-kôṭîr=ih=âstâm | tapa-tapana-kar-âbha-prâsa-vṛiṁdâni yasy=âri-vara-tanushu dhârâ raudhirîr=âpiva(ba)nti || Aṇahilapâṭaka[10]-vasatiḥ prâg=âsît=tâpa—[11]

8. mahâkula-jaḥ | Varmaśivaḥ śiva-mûrtiḥ kîrti-mati-kshâṁti-dhṛiti-dhâma || Yô[12] vâ(bâ)laḥ kila Dakshiṇâpatha-gatô vau(bau)ddha-prati[shṭh]âpitâṁ sampaśyan=pratimâṁ jahâra vidhinâ kên=âpi dûraṁ rushâ | maṁtr-ôchchâraṇa-vêlay=aiva paṭaha-dhvânât=tatô viśrutô vijñâtô guru-gauravân=nija-padê ninyê◡[13].

9. tâṁ maṁtra-vit || Kaśmîrêshu ya îśvar-ârpita-manâ vidvadbhir=abhyarchchitaḥ svâṁ śaktiṁ paridarśya Kaśyapa iva kshmâpâla-mâl-ârchitaḥ | digrudrân=vishamân=vidhâpya sa tatô Rudr-âlayaṁ nirmalaṁ vâṁchh-âhâra-karaṁ maṭhaṁ vyarachayad=bhaṭṭârak-âbhîshṭa-daṁ || Svairêṇ=ôpavanê kvachid=virachita-dhyânâsan-â-

10. dhyâsanô madhyâhnê=pi na tatyajê vara-ta[rô]ḥ[14] prâgvan=nija-chchhâyayâ | tad=dṛishṭvâ dvija-jâtin=âtiśayataḥ kên=âpi saṁsêvitas=tasmai tushṭa-manâ manushya-nikara-svâmitva-lâbhaṁ dadau || Paschâd=adbhuta-tarka-vô(bô)dha-va(ba)latas=tatr=aiva pa[t× |traṁ svayaṁ dattv=ôpârjya yaśaḥ śaśâṁka-ruchiraṁ jitv=ô◡[15]

11. ṭân=vâdinaḥ | chêtaḥ-śuddhi-karêshu tîrtha-nikarêshv=â-vârddhi sisnâ(shṇâ)-sayâ prâdakshiṇyam=idaṁ mahî-talam=aṭan=Vôdâmayûtâṁ gataḥ || Tadâ[16] śrî-Dêva-pâlasya kula-krama-samudbhavaḥ | maṁtrî Rulh-âbhidhânô=bhûd=Iṁdrasy=êva svayaṁ guruḥ || Tatô [17] bhâvi-kshmâbhṛit-sukṛita-[rachana]ḥ pâtra-nikara-pradhâ-

12. nên=ânêna prachura-guṇa-bhṛit=pûjya-charitaḥ | svayaṁ Rulhâ-nâmnâ divira-kulajên=âpta-matinâ gurutvê vinyastô nija-pura-maṭha-svâmya-vishayê || Anâdi[18] Kanhêśvaradêvam=âdau Rulhêśvaraṁ kârayati sma paschât | maṭhaṁ tapasvishv=anukûla-vastu-sampatti dêvâvani-tulyam=êtat || Tad-bhaktimân

13. Mûrttigaṇô guṇ-iṁdrô va(ba)bhûva bhûpâla-hṛidavja(bja)-sûryaḥ | sad-dîkshayâ yasya sa Sûrapâladêvô va(ba)bhûv=âpratima-prabhâvaḥ || Vaśy[19]-âkṛishṭi-mahâ-vidhâna-nipuṇô maṁtr-ôddhṛitau dakshiṇô vipraṁ bhûmipatiṁ tadîyam=athav=âmâtyaṁ sa yaṁ dîkshayêt | taṁ taṁ vô(bô)dha-nidhiṁ [sa]masta-pṛithivî-nâthaṁ pradhânaṁ nṛiṇâṁ sthâṇuṁ

14. pa[t×]triṇam=âtanôt=tarum=iva śrî-Yâjñavalkyô muniḥ || Kâmaḥ[20] kumbhî tadupayamanaṁ[21] tad-bhujastaṁbha-yugmaṁ krôdhô vyâdhir=vvachanam=amṛitan=tasya tach-chhâṁti-hêtuḥ | lôbhaḥ śaṁkê śaśaka-śiśukaḥ kêsarî sa prasiddhaḥ sa trailôkyê kim=iha va(ba)hunâ Śaṁbhu-saṁbhâvan-ârhaḥ || Asyâṁ bhûmau malahara-[ma]-

15. hâtîr[tha]-yâtrâ-prayâtaṁ śrâvaṁ śrâvaṁ vara-yatijanô=nugrahây=aitam=êva | ghrâyaṁ ghrâyaṁ parimalam=ali-vrâta âsâdya sadyô yadvad=dûrâd=vrajati kusumaṁ sêvatê ch=âpy=ajasraṁ | Sva-[22]śishyavara-bhûpâla-bhakti-lavdhê(bdhê)na bhûriṇâ | bhûmi-dânêna yô viprân=pûjayâm-âsa bhûriṇâ || Prakhyâtô[23] Hariyâṇa-dêśa-vasatiḥ śrî-

16. Siṁhapallyâṁ dvijô va(ba)hv-annô guṇavân=Vasâvaṇa iti khyâtaḥ pṛithivyâm=abhût || tasya śrêshṭha-sutaḥ purâkṛita-mahâ-puṇya-prabhâvâd=asau tyaktvâ

[10] Metre, Âryâ.
[11] *i.e., tâpasô.*
[12] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next three verses.
[13] Perhaps *ninyê, gryatâṁ.*
[14] This certainly is the original reading; but a careful examination of the *akshara rô* shows that it has been altered, and I would suggest the reading *vara-tanuḥ.*
[15] *i.e., jitv-ôdbhaṭân=.*
[16] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[17] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[18] Metre, Upajâti; and of the next verse.
[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[20] Metre, Mandâkrântâ; and of the next verse.
[21] Here, in the original, follow the *aksharas thathatha-thathathatha.*
[22] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

va(ba)ṁdhu-dhana-spṛihâṁ para-pada-prâptyai sishêvê gurum ॥ Niyama-[24] sayama-dhyâna-vyagrô gurôḥ paricharyayâ pratidinam=abhûd=dêv-âbhyarchâ-kṛitê kusum-âkulaḥ । tṛiṇam=iva dhanaṁ matvâ-

17. sa[t×]tva-sthitau [ma]kar-âkaraḥ sva-guru-hṛidayê śishyô bhaktiṁ parâṁ samadarśayat ॥ Gauḍa-jaḥ[25] pravara-paṁchak-ânvitô Vatsabhârgava-sugôtra-maṁḍitaḥ । Bhârgava-Chyavanak-Âpnavânakair=Aurvva-nâma-Jama[da][26]gnibhir=yutaḥ ॥ Aśêsha[27]-śishyêshu parîkshya dîkshitaḥ svayaṁ ya Îśânaśiv=êti kîrttitaḥ । tapasvi-râjyê sva-padê=bhishê-

18. chitô mahîbhujâṁ padmakarô 'bhavad=guruḥ ॥ Tûryâṇâṁ [28] saṁninâdair=madhukara-madhurair=vallakî-sphîta-gîtair=ghaṁṭâ-saṁghaṭṭa-ghôshaiḥ kusuma-parimalair=nartanair=nartakînâṁ । yasminn=atyaṁta-bhaktyâ mahati Girisutâ-vallabhaṁ nitya-rîtyâ bhrâṁtiḥ pâvitrakî syâd=ativa(ba)hala-mahâ-pûjayâ vismitânâṁ ॥ Amṛitapâla-[29] ni—[30]

19. tara-bhaktitô vasumatî gahan=âsya hi kîrttanaiḥ । kim=aparaṁ grahaṇêshu na gaṇyatê katishu sarva-dhanaṁ dvijasât=kṛitaṁ ॥ N[31]=âmî sêvyâ vishama-vishayâ dushṭa-hâlâhal-âbhâ va(ba)ddhaṁ kaṁṭhê chiram=api dhanaṁ prâṇinaṁ n=ânuyâti । saṁsârô=yaṁ sarasa-kadalî-daṁḍa-vach=ch=âpy=asâras=tasmâd=dhêyaṁ sakalam=aparaṁ dharma-tô=nyad=viditvâ ॥ Prâ [32]—[33]

20. da êsha Bharatasya purê hy=akâri yô nâma tuṁgima-guṇêna jagaj=jigâya । yad-râmaṇîyakam=anuttamam=âkalayya Kailâsa-vâsa-vimukhô vasat=îha Śaṁbhuḥ ॥ Anârata- [34]prabhramêṇa [35] bhânô khinnô=si viśrâmya muhûrttam=atra ॥ it=îva saṁñâm=anusaṁdadhânaś=chalat-patâkâ-chchhalatô vibhâvi(ti) ॥ Śivâlayaṁ [36] vinirmâpya pratishṭhâ[ś=cha ?] ◡[37]

21. dhânataḥ । prâyachchhad=Îśânaśivaḥ śâsanaṁ Bhadaṇaulikâṁ । Rûḍhâ Rulhâbhi[dhaṁ]prâpyaŚiva-bhakti-latâ hiyâ । Lakshmîdhara-Jagatpâla-bhavanaiḥ s=aiva varddhitâ ॥ Âhâḍêgaḍha [38] uttamê samabhavat=sûriḥ sa Sômêśvarô yat-pûjâ-paramâ va(ba)[bhûvu]r=akhilâ lôkâḥ sadâ nâgarâḥ । tasy=âśêsha-g[u]ṇâ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — [Ga]ṁgâdharaḥ paṁḍitô vidy-âdâna-rataḥ pa—[39]

22. graha-bhayâd=yô n=aikshata kshatriyân ॥ Tasmai [40] dadau Paraśurâma-vu(bu)dhaḥ sva-putrî[ṁ] Sûlh-âbhidhâṁ Girisutâm=iva Parvvatêśaḥ । tasyâṁ=va(ba)bhûva suta-paṁchatayî kanishṭhô Gôviṁdachaṁdra-vivu(bu)dhaḥ śruti-śâstra-nishṭhaḥ ॥ Surâlay-[41] ârâ[ma] ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ⏑ ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ⏑ । ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —[pra×][śa]stim=êtâm=akarôt=kav-îśvaraḥ ॥×]

23. — — — — — — — [42]॥ Utkîrṇṇ [43]=êyaṁ varṇṇa-vinyâsa-vidbhyâṁ Gôgê-Jîlhê-nâmakâbhyâm=ubhâbhyâṁ । yad-varṇṇ-âlyô bhâṁti pâshâṇa-paṭṭê jâtî-pushp-ârabdha-pûj-ôpamânâḥ ॥ Yâvad [44] = Gaṁgâ sutâ Bhâ[nô] r=yâvad=bhânu-ni[śâ][45] . . . . . [pra]śa[sti×] . . . .

[24] Metre, Hariṇî.
[25] Metre, Rathoddhatâ.
[26] This *akshara* originally was *bha*.
[27] Metre, Upêndravajrâ.
[28] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[29] Metre, Drutavilambita.
[30] *i.e.*, *-niraṁ-*.
[31] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[32] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[33] *i.e.*, *Prâsâ-*.
[34] Metre, Upajâti.
[35] Read *prabhramaṇêna*.
[36] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh) ; and of the next verse.
[37] *i.e.*, *vi-*.
[38] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[39] *i.e.*, *pari—*.
[40] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[41] Metre, Vaṁśastha.
[42] Here are about seven illegible *aksharas* which possibly contained a date.
[43] Metre, Śâlinî.
[44] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[45] Here about 45 *aksharas* are broken away.

XI.—THE MADHUBAN COPPER-PLATE OF HARSHA, DATED SAMVAT 25.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of Harsha's lately found grant has been prepared from two paper impressions and an ink print which have been made and furnished to me by Dr. J. Burgess. The plate was discovered in January 1888, by a cultivator whose phoughshare struck against it in a field near Madhuban, a village in pargaṇa Nathûpur of tahsîl Sagrî, thirty-two miles NE. from Âzamgarh, in the North-Western Provinces. It was obtained by Dr. A. Führer from the Collector of Âzamgarh, and is now in the Lucknow Museum.

The inscription is incised on a single copper-plate measuring 20¼ inches by 13¼, and which weighs 8½ lbs, but has no ring or seal. The letters are cut neatly and deeply, so that even in those places where the surface has suffered or the plate is uneven, they have not been quite destroyed or blurred, and the reverse of the impressions shows them distinctly. The alphabet is of the Central Indian type which appears on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's inscriptions from Nepâl, Nos. 3—15, the Kâmavana, Jhâlrâpâṭan, Lakkhâ Maṇḍal and other inscriptions, as well as on the Horiuzi palm-leaves and the Nepalese Cambridge MS. No. 1049.[1] The characters resemble those of the later epigraphic documents named, especially Dr. Bhagvânlâl's No. 15, and those of the MSS., more closely than the earlier inscriptions which are known to fall within or immediately after Harsha's reign. Only a few letters, like *ka* and the subscribed *ña*, show more ancient forms than the palm-leaves. As regards *ka*, the curve of the left-hand limb does not join with the upward stroke on the left of the central vertical line. The subscribed *ña* has in *samâjñâpayati* (l. 10) the older form, which occurs in the Lakkhâ Maṇḍal Praśasti, in *râjñî* (l. 12) and *âjñâ* (l. 15), the form used in the MSS. and Nepal No. 15, differing only slightly in the position. On the other hand a good many signs like *tha*, *śa*, *ha* and the numerals for 20, 5 and 6 show somewhat later or more developed forms than those of the documents quoted. The letter-numerals 5 and 6 resemble exactly the figures of the Cambridge MS. No. 1702, the sign for 20 comes closest to that of the Cambridge MS. No. 1464.[2] Peculiar is a small excrescence on the left-hand of *da*, caused by the letter having been made with two strokes, the triangular form of the subscribed *va*, and the slope in the bottom-lines of the letters *pa*, *ma*, *ya*, *va*, *la*, *sa*, and *sha*, which however is not constant. These latter mostly show acute angles, but occasionally nearly right angles.

The inscription is most important for palæographical purposes, and its careful study may be recommended to those scholars who still believe that the epigraphic documents give a clear view of the gradual development of the Indian alphabets. If this Śâsana is compared letter for letter with Dr. Bhagvânlâl's No. 15, it will appear that the latter, which was incised 128 years later, shows a number of *more archaic* forms. If the Madhuban grant had been accessible when I wrote my palæographic essay on the Horiuzi palm-leaves,[3] it would have been much easier to prove that everywhere in India the epigraphic alphabets are in many details retrograde and lag behind the literary ones,

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, pp. 166 ff; *ibid.* vol. X, pp. 34 ff; *ibid.* vol. V, pp. 180 ff; *ante*, p. 10; *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. I, pt. 3; Bendall's *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. from Nepâl.*

[2] See Bendall's *Catalogue*, last table.

[3] *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vol. I, pt. 3, pp. 63 ff.

and to demonstrate more forcibly the great antiquity of the Japanese and of the oldest Nepalese MSS.

The language of the edict is on the whole good Sanskrit, and there are very few clerical mistakes. As regards the spelling, no distinction is made between *ba* and *va*, no doubt because in the seventh century the pronunciation of the two letters was the same, just as at present. In *samviditaṁ* (l. 10) and *samvat* (l. 18) the letter *m* remains unchanged before *va*, which practice is, though against grammar, very common in the inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries, and due to the pronunciation that in this point too agreed with the modern one. Ungrammatical or unidiomatic forms and words occur exclusively in the technical portion of the grant. Among them may be noted *kuṇḍadhânîvaishayika* (l. 8) for *kuṇḍadhânîvishayântaḥpâti*, *bhuktakaḥ* (l. 10) for *bhuktaḥ*, *sarvaparihṛitaparihâraḥ* (l. 11) for *parihṛitasarvaparihâraḥ*, °*samakâlînaḥ* (l. 11) for °*samakâlikaḥ*. Very interesting is the incorrect form *pramâtâra*, which twice (l. 9 and l. 17) occurs in the middle of a compound. It can only be explained as caused by the influence of the vernacular language which must have had then as now forms in *târ*, spelt *târa*, such as *kartâr*, instead of the Sanskrit words ending in *tṛi*.

The historical information which the inscription furnishes, is throughout most interesting. Great Harsha is known as one of the most eminent kings of India. His life and the lives of his immediate predecessors have been described by Bâṇa and by Hiuen Tsiang. It is therefore most important to see, if what he says about himself and his family agrees with the accounts in the *Śrîharshacharita* and in the *Si-yu-ki*. The result of the comparison is on the whole favourable, especially for Bâṇa. But we obtain some valuable additions to the facts already known. The genealogy of Harsha's family—the Vaiśyas of Sthâṇvîśvara[4]—stands now as follows:—

I. Naravardhana, md. to Vajriṇî-devî.

II. Râjyavardhana I. md. to Apsaro-devî.

III. Âdityavardhana, md. to Mahâsenaguptâ-devî.

IV. Prabhâkaravardhana, md. to Yaśomatî-devî.

V. Râjyavardhana II. VI. Harsha.

The names of the first three kings and those of their queens are new. Both Hiuen Tsiang and Bâṇa omit them, the latter mentioning in their stead the remote founder of the family Pushpabhûti or, as the correct spelling of the name probably was, Pushyabhûti.[5] They seem however to have stood on Mr. Fleet's Sonpat seal of Harsha, on the

[4] Sir A. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 377, is right when he asserts that the French translation of Hiuen Tsiang's *Fei-she* was wrong in making Harsha of the Vaisya caste, and that the intermarriages with the Râjput families of Valabhî and Mâlvâ (*recte* Kanoj) prove him to have been a Kshatriya. I also agree with his identification of Harsha's family with the modern Bais Râjputs. I would add that according to Dr. Kielhorn's MS. B., Patañjali on Pâṇini, IV, 1, 170, (vol. II, p. 269, Kielhorn) mentions a country called Vaiśa, an inhabitant of which is named Vaiśya. Dr. Kielhorn prints, according to the majority of his MSS. Naiśa and Naiśya. Though this proceeding is undoubtedly correct, yet it by no means follows that the reading of the majority of the MSS. is the original one, for *na* and *va* are very similar in the ancient alphabet and the writers or correctors might easily make a mistake in the case of a name which does not occur in other literary works. Hence it is not impossible that the *Mahâbhâshya* has preserved the ancient name of the Bais nobles. The fact that the capital of Harsha's ancestors was Sthâṇvîśvara—Thâṇesar, is fully proved by Bâṇa's statements.

[5] The word *Pushpabhûti* gives no good sense. *Pushyabhûti* is a Nakshatra-name, and means "he to whom Pushya may give welfare." There are numerous similar ancient names like *Ashâḍhabhûti*, *Somabhûti*, *Nâgabhûti*, *Indrabhûti*, and so forth. The modern Devanâgarî MSS. constantly interchange *pa* and *ya*, especially in compound letters.

facsimile of which (l. 5) the end of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's mother is visible in the words . . . . *naguptâdevyâm utpannaḥ*.[6] As all three receive the simple title *mahârâja*, it follows that their power was not great, and it is even doubtful if they were independent. For in the fourth, fifth, sixth and later centuries of our era the title *mahârâja* was commonly given to great vassals, as the Valabhî and numerous other inscriptions prove. The position of the fourth ruler, Prabhâkaravardhana, was of course different. As he is called *paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *mahârâdhirâja*, he must have been an independent sovereign and a man of some consequence. He no doubt owed his prosperity to his own valour. Bâṇa mentions his successful wars against his northern neighbours, the king of Gandhâra and the Hûnas in the Himâlayas, against the king of Sindh in the west, and against the rulers on his southern frontier, the Gûrjaras, *i.e.*, those of Bhînmâl in Râjputânâ, the Lâṭas, *i.e.*, the Gûrjaras of Bharoch, who no doubt assisted their northern clansmen, and against the king of Mâlava.[7] The same author gives also a number of other data which prove that Prabhâkaravardhana's wars did not lead to permanent conquests of the countries or tribes which he combated and may have vanquished. Thus he tells us that shortly before his death the king sent his eldest son "into the north-country in order to exterminate the Hûnas."[8] Again, we hear[9] that immediately after Prabhâkaravardhana's death the king of Mâlava was powerful enough to destroy the kingdom of the Maukhari Grahavarman, the son-in-law of the ruler of Sthâṇvîśvara, and to slay him, as well as that he intended to attack Thâṇeśar. That does not look as if Mâlava had suffered much at the hands of its foe. Another remark which Bâṇa makes on the same occasion warns us against forming too high an opinion of the extent of Prabhâkaravardhana's kingdom. He says that after Grahavarman's death, his wife Râjyaśrî was thrown into prison at Kanyakubja, and lay there in fetters. Hence Kanyakubja seems to have been the independent state which Grahavarman governed and the kingdom of Sthâṇvîśvara which Prabhâkaravardhana held, cannot have extended far eastwards. It seems probable that his possessions did not go beyond the limits of the kingdom of Thâṇeśar which Hiuen Tsiang describes (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 183ff), and which, as Sir A. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, p. 328ff) suggests, probably included portions of the Southern Panjâb and of Eastern Râjputânâ. A state, the circuit of which amounted to 7000 li or 1200 miles, might exercise a considerable influence, keep its neighbours in fear, and afford to a very talented king the means for greater conquests; but its ruler cannot have been a *chakravartin*.

The further description of Prabhâkaravardhana in our grant is obviously

[6] See *Corpus Inscr. Indicarum*, vol. III, plate xxxiiB. I owe a set of the plates and of a portion of the text of this unpublished work to the kindness of the author. Since writing the above, I have received Mr. Fleet's text, from which (p. 232) it appears that he has made out the names of the second and third kings and of the third queen.

[7] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 274 (Kaśmîr edition), where the foes of Prabhâkaravardhana are briefly enumerated and in a somewhat different order.

[8] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 326, अथ कदाचिद्राजा राज्यवर्धनं कवचहरं हूनान्हन्तुं .....उत्तरापथं प्राहिणोत् । The issue of this expedition does not seem to have been favourable, as Bâṇa speaks on Râjyavardhana's return of hard fights, but not of booty brought back; see p. 376.

[9] *Śrîharshacharita*, pp. 391-392, पिशाचानामिव नीचात्मानां चरितानि च्छिद्रप्रहारीणि प्रायशो भवन्ति यतो यस्मिन्नहन्यवनिपतिरुपरत इत्यभूद्वार्ता तस्मिन्नेव देवी ग्रहवर्मा दुरात्मना मालवराजेन जीवलोकमात्मनः सुकृतेन सह त्याजितः । भट्टदारिकापि राज्यश्रीः कालायसनिगडयुगलचुम्बितचरणा चौराङ्गनेव संयता कन्यकुब्जे कारायां निचिप्ता । किंवदन्ती च यथा किलानायकं साधनं मत्वा जिघृक्षुः सुदूरतिरोतामपि भुवमाजिगमिषतीति ॥ The speaker is Saṁvâdaka, a servant of Râjyaśrî. My interpretation of this passage follows Dr. Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52, who says that Kanyakubja was Grahavarman's capital. Grahavarman and his father Avantivarman are always spoken of by Bâṇa as independent princes.

conventional. The same expressions occur also on the Asirgadh seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, and apply there to the first king Harivarman. The only other statement which possesses a historical value is the assertion that Prabhâkaravardhana was "a most devout worshipper of the Sun." Bâṇa, too, says of him (in the *Śrîharshacharita* p. 274)—"And owing to his natural disposition this prince became a worshipper of the Sun." He goes on describing at length the king's daily devotions, adding that the recitation of the *Âdityahṛidaya*—a still much-used *stotra*—formed part of them. The name of Prabhâkaravardhana's queen is likewise known from Bâṇa's poem. In the latter she is however called Yaśovatî, not Yaśomâtî.[10] This vacillation in two contemporaneous sources is another instance showing how little the Hindus care about the form of a name provided the sense remains the same.

Prabhâkaravardhana's eldest son Râjyavardhana ruled, as Bâṇa and Hiuen Tsiang tell us, for a short time only. Soon after his father's death he set out in order to punish the king of Mâlava and to avenge the destruction of Grahavarman. He was successful, defeated and slew his foe. But before he returned home, he followed an invitation of the king of Gauḍa (*Śrîharshacharita*) or Karṇa-Suvarṇa (*Si-yu-ki*),—named, according to one MS. of the *Śrîharshacharita*, Narendragupta and according to the *Si-yu-ki* Śaśâṅka,—who treacherously killed him, because he feared his military ability.[11] The grant in the main confirms these statements. The verse inserted, ll. 6-7, declares that after defeating various kings, Devagupta and others, Râjyavardhana "gave up his life in the mansion of his foe owing to his adherence to a promise." Assuming the correctness of Bâṇa's account (*Śrîharshacharita*, pp. 393-394), according to which the expedition against Mâlava followed immediately after Prabhâkaravardhana's death and Râjyavardhana was slain some months[12] later, it may be suggested that Devagupta was the name of the Mâlava king. The latter certainly was the chief foe, and the conquest of his kingdom is attested by the further statement of Bâṇa that Bhaṇḍin, who had accompanied Râjyavardhana, brought the booty from Mâlava to Harsha when the latter had reached the territory of Kumâra-Bhâskaravarman on his expedition of revenge against the king of Gauḍa.[13] I may add that the word *Mâlava* need not refer here or in the other passages of the *Śrîharshacharita* to the Mâlava in Central India. There was another Mâlava in the Panjâb, much nearer to Thâṇeśar, which may be meant.

Another statement of the grant which possesses some interest is that Râjyavardhana was a Saugata or Buddhist (l. 6). If Bâṇa, himself a Brâhmaṇ, does not

[10] See *e.g.*, pp. 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 281 of the Kaśmîr edition. [Eight of the best MSS. of the *Harshacharita*, however, read 'Yasomatt,' which reading I have adopted in my forthcoming edition of the text and commentary.—A. F.]

[11] The story is told, *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 399, and frequently alluded to, *e.g.*, in the second introductory verse of *Uchchhvâsa*, VI, 376. Hiuen Tsiang's account occurs in Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 210, and St. Julien, *Vie*, p. 112. Sir A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, makes the name of Śaśânka's country to be Kiraṇasuvarṇa. Neither this nor M. St. Julien's transliteration is certain.

[12] Bâṇa says, p. 396: अतिक्रान्तेषु बहुवासरेषु कदाचित्तथैव भ्रातृगमनदुःखासिकया दत्तप्रजागरस्त्रिभागशेषायां त्रियामायां यामिकेन गीयमानामिमामार्यां शुश्राव ॥ The listener is Harsha. The news of his brother's death came on the following day. It seems impossible to understand the phrase "*when many days had passed*" otherwise than that *some months*, not a full year, had elapsed since Râjyavardhana's departure.

[13] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 472. I may add that Bhaṇḍin was not the minister of Râjyavardhana, as Hiuen Tsiang says, nor "a subject of high rank" entrusted with the two brothers' education, as Dr. Hall (*Vâsavadattâ*, p. 52) asserts. Bâṇa, 298, states plainly that he was the son of queen Yaśovatî's brother, who at the age of eight years became the attendant of the two princes, अस्मिन्नेव तु काले यशोवत्या भ्राता सुतमष्टवर्षदेशीयम् . . . अखिलनामानमनुचरं कुमारयोरर्पितवान्. Dr. Hall has already pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang's account of the part which Bhaṇḍin played in setting Harsha on the throne does not agree with Bâṇa's narrative. It is no doubt inexact.

mention it, there is no reason for wondering at his reticence. But it is certainly curious that the fact—for such it must be considered—escaped the notice of Hiuen Tsiang, who is so anxious to record every point in favour of his faith and who occasionally, it would seem, exaggerates its influence in India. Such an exaggeration of the Chinese pilgrim is laid bare by the only direct statement concerning Harsha which the grant contains. Harsha calls himself a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara or Śiva, "who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings." It agrees with this assertion that the emblem on the Sonpat seal is a reclining Nandi. Hiuen Tsiang, on the other hand, tries to make out that Harsha was a Buddhist or full of faith in Buddha from the beginning. He tells us an obviously fictitious story describing how Harsha was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title *kumâra* by a Bodhisattva, who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship.[14]

In the genealogical portion of the grant Harsha says nothing more about himself, and to our regret thereby sets an example which few Indian princes have imitated. But indirectly we learn something more about him from his edict. First, the wording of the verse in ll. 16-17, and the reverential manner in which the grant in l. 13 speaks of "the feet" of the elder brother, prove that Harsha really felt the strong attachment and great regard for Râjyavardhana of which Bâṇa speaks very frequently. Otherwise he would not treat him here with almost greater reverence than his parents. Secondly, we learn from the edict that Harsha really was a poet. The second admonitory verse, ll. 16-17, gives us a maxim proclaimed by Harsha. Its wording proves beyond a doubt that the king superintended the drafting of the grant, and that this verse at least is his own composition. The fact that the first admonitory verse contains the same sentiments which are usually given in such passages, but in its form differs from all the known parallel passages, makes it probable that it likewise belongs to him. Under these circumstances I feel inclined to ascribe to him also the verse on Râjyavardhana. Instances in which kings took a part in the composition of their inscriptions are not common. No. 15 of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Nepâl series, where five verses are stated to be "the clever king's own composition," proves, however, that such things did occur. In the case of Harsha it is not astonishing that he took an interest in such matters, as we still possess three plays which go under his name and probably, in part at least, proceeded from his pen. The third piece of information, a confirmation of Hiuen Tsiang's account of his military career, is furnished by the particulars regarding the donation. The object of the grant is to transfer the village of Somakuṇḍikâ situated in the *vishaya* of Kuṇḍadhânî, and in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî, to two learned Brâhmans, the *Sâmavedî* Bhaṭṭa Vâtasvâmin of the Sâvarṇi gotra and the *Ṛigvedî* Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvâmin of the Vishṇuvṛiddha gotra. The village had formerly been enjoyed on the strength of a *forged śâsana* by one Vâmarathya, from whom it is now taken after destroying the old plate. The latter point is of some interest, as it shows that the rules of the *Smṛitis* which settle the punishment for forgers of royal edicts, were not unnecessary, and that ancient forgeries existed. As the village granted by Harsha was situated in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî, it is evident that he had conquered at the time a very considerable portion of Northern and Central India. The *dûtaka*,

[14] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 212. Doubts about Hiuen Tsiang's veracity have been emitted by Mr. Boyd, *Nâgânanda*, pp. ix—xi, who correctly states that the events narrated by him do not bear out his assertion that Harsha was a thorough-going Buddhist.

or officer charged with the execution of the grant, was the *Mahâsâmanta-mahârâja* Skandagupta who held the office of *pramâtṛi*. This personage is probably the same Skandagupta who, according to Bâṇa,[15] was "the master of the elephant" at the death of Râjyavardhana and addressed to his prince the well-known speech full of political wisdom and historical allusions. The order to engrave the inscription was given by the chief of the *mahâkshapaṭalika's* office, or the great keeper of the records, *sâmanta-mahârâja* Îśvaragupta, and it was carried out by one Gurjara, whose name no doubt is derived from his caste.[16]

The date of the grant, Saṁvat 25, Mârgaśîrsha vadi 6, clearly refers to the Śrîharsha era. Since the discovery of Mr. Bendall's inscription [17] of Aṁśuvarman, dated Saṁvat 34, it is not doubtful that the era began in 606 A.D. Our date consequently corresponds to November-December 631 or, if the years are taken as elapsed, to 632 A.D. I am unable to offer any suggestion regarding the situation of Pinthikâ, where Harsha's camp of victory, which included elephants, horses and boats, was located at the time when the edict was issued.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री [18] स्वस्ति महानौहस्त्यश्वजयस्कन्धावारात् पिन्थिकायाः महाराजश्रीनरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीवज्रिणीदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो

L. 2. महाराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पदानुध्यातः श्रीअप्सरोदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमादित्यभक्तो महाराजश्रीमददित्यवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमहा-

L. 3. सेनगुप्तादेव्यामुत्पन्नश्चतुःसमुद्रातिक्रान्तकीर्त्तिः प्रतापानुरागोपनतान्यराजो वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्र एकचक्ररथ इव प्रजानामार्त्तिहरः

L. 4. परमादित्यभक्तः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सितयशःप्रतानविच्छुरितसकलभुवनमण्डलः परिगृहीत-

L. 5. धनदवरुणेन्द्रप्रभृतिलोकपालतेजाः सत्पथोपार्ज्जितानेकप्रविणभूमिप्रदानसम्प्रीणितार्थिहृदयोतिशयितपूर्व्वराजचरितो देव्याममलयशोमत्यां

L. 6. श्रीयशोमत्यामुत्पन्नः परमसौगतः सुगत इव परहितैकरतः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनः राजानो युधि दृष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्ता -

L. 7. दयः

कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारं विमुखा सर्व्वे समं संयताः [।]
उत्खाय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधां कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं
प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः [॥][19] तस्यानुज -

L. 8. स्तत्पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव सर्व्वसत्वानुकम्पी परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहर्षः श्रावस्तीभुक्तौ कुण्डधानीवैषयिकसोमकुण्डिकाग्रामे

L. 9. समुपगतां [20] महासामन्तमहाराजदौस्साधसाधनिकप्रमातारराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्योपरिकविषयपतिभटचाटसेवकादीन्प्रतिवासिजनपदाश्च समा -

[15] *Śrîharshacharita*, p. 417.

[16] It may be mentioned that Gurjara *sûtradhâras* are met within the present day.

[17] *Journey to Nepâl*, pp. 74-76.

[18] L. 1 Read श्रीः.

L. 2 Read अप्सरो॰ ; ॰श्रीमदादित्य॰

L. 5 Read ॰प्रवण॰, It looks as if the engraver had tried to remove the vowel *i*.

[19] Metre of the verse, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] L. 9 Read समुपगतान् ; the Sanskrit form of प्रमातार is प्रमाढ. Read जनपदांश्च ; the reading of the plate may be जनपदान्श्च.

(*father's*) feet (*was he*) who overspread the circle of the whole world with the canopy of his brilliant fame; who completely appropriated the lustre of the guardians of the world, Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indrā and so forth; who gladdened the hearts of needy men by gifts of many excellent[25] (*pieces of*) land gained in a righteous manner; who was born from the queen possessing spotless fame, the illustrious Yaśomatî,—a most devout worshipper of Sugata, who like Sugata solely found pleasure in doing good to others, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Râjyavardhana; "By whom, plying his whip in battle, the kings Devagupta and others—who resembled wicked horses—were all subdued with averted faces; who, after uprooting his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise gave up his life in the mansion of his foe." His younger brother who meditates on his (*elder brother's*) feet, a most devout worshipper of Maheśvara, who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created beings, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Harsha, addresses (*this*) order to the great feudal barons, the great kings, *Daussâdhasâdhanikas*,[26] *Pramâtṛis*,[27] viceroys, princes, ministers, *Uparikas*, rulers of districts, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, as well as to the provincials of the neighbourhood, assembled in the village of Somakuṇḍikâ which belongs to the district (*vishaya*) of Kuṇḍadhânî in the *bhukti* of Śrâvastî:

"Be it known to you that, having considered that this village of Somakuṇḍikâ has been enjoyed[28] by the Brahman Vâmarathya on the strength of a forged edict, having therefore broken that edict and having taken (*the village*) from him, I have granted it, up to its boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*, together with (*the right to*) all the income which ought to accrue to the house of the king,[29] endowed with all immunities . . . . . (*with the right of*) inheritance by sons and grandsons, (*for a period*) lasting as long as moon, sun and earth (*endure*), according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,[30] for the increase of the merit and fame of (*my*) father, the supreme lord

[25] *Pravaṇa* cannot here have its usual meaning "inclining towards." I take it in the sense of *udâra* which is given in some *Koshâs*, and as a synonym of *pravara*. The latter term is sometimes found in parallel passages of inscriptions.

[26] Literally "those charged with the accomplishment of what is difficult to accomplish." If this term, which occurs also in other inscriptions (see *e.g. Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 167, l. 28), is identical with *dauḥsâdhika* (see A. Weber, *Hâla*, 406, 557), it means perhaps "policeman," or, as Professor Weber thinks, "doorkeeper."

[27] Regarding the term *pramâtri*, found here and below, l. 16, see the note on verse 36 of the second Baijnâth Praśasti (*inf.*), and regarding the form *pramâtâra*, see above, p. 68.

[28] The text has *bhuktakaḥ*. The addition of a meaningless affix *ka* to participles in *mâna*, *na* and *ta*, which, I think, is owing to the influence of the Prâkrit dialects, occurs very frequently in the Central Indian inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries. See *e.g.* Mr. Fleet's volume, quoted above, page 136, l. 9, *utpannakotpadyamânaka*, p. 137, l. 11, *kâritaka* and so forth.

[29] Analogous expressions such as *samuchitarâjâbhâvyakarapratyâyâna grâhyâḥ* occur in the Karitalai copper-plate inscription of M. Jayanâtha (Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 118, ll. 11-12) and other grants of the same series. Mr. Fleet interprets them however differently. I dissolve the compound by *sarva-râjakula-âbhâvya-pratyâya-sametaḥ* and take *âbhâvya* in the sense of *âbhâvayitavya*.

[30] My translation of *bhûmichchhidra* by 'land unfit for tillage' rests on a passage of Yâdava's *Vaijayantî*, where we read according to a MS. sent to me by Dr. Oppert (now India Office Bühler Sansk. MSS., No. 145) in the *Vaiśyâdhyâya* of the *Bhûmikâṇḍa*, III, 8, 16b—17:

केदारः केदरः चेवमुर्वरा सर्वसस्यभूः ॥ १६ ॥
भूमिच्छिद्रं क्षययोग्यां प्रहतं नालमुत्थितम् ।
खिलं त्वप्रहतं स्थानमूषवत्यूषरेरिणे ॥ १७ ॥

The maxim concerning ground unfit for tillage is probably that enunciated by Manu, IX, 44, that "a field belongs to him who cleared away the timber." The ultimate sense of the expression is, therefore, that the land in question is made over to the donee with the same full right of ownership which the first cultivator would have possessed who reclaimed it.

L. 10. ज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः सम्विदितंमयं सीमकुण्डकाग्रामो ब्राह्मणवामरथ्येन कूटशासनेन भुक्तक इति विचार्य यतस्तच्छासनं भङ्क्त्वा तस्मादाच्छिद्य च स्वसीमा-

L. 11. पर्यन्तः सोद्रङ्गः सर्व्वराजकुलाभाव्यप्रत्यायसमेतः सर्व्वपरिहृतपरिहारो विषयाद्धृतपिण्डः पुत्रपौत्रानुगः चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालीनो

L. 12. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन मया पितुः परमभट्टारकमहाराधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्द्धनदेवस्य मातुः परमभट्टारिकामहादेवीराज्ञीश्रीयशोमतीदेव्याः

L. 13. ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराज्यवर्द्धनदेवपादानां च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये सावर्ण्णिसगोत्रच्छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभट्टवातस्वामि -

L. 14. विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रवह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिशिवदेवस्वामिभ्यां प्रतिग्रहधर्म्मणाग्रहारत्वेन प्रतिपादितः विदित्वा भवद्भिः समनुमन्तव्यः प्रति

L. 15. वासिजनपदैरप्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा यथासमुचिततुल्यमेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायाः अनयोरेवोपनेयाः सेवोपस्थानं च करणीयमित्य-

L. 16. पि च ॥

अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [।]
लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलचंचलायाः दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥[21]
कर्म्मणा

L. 17. मनसा वाचा कर्त्तव्यं प्राणिनेहितं [।]
हर्षेणैतत्समाख्यातं[22]धर्म्मार्ज्जनमनुत्तमं ॥
दूतकोत्र महाप्रमातारमहासामन्तश्रीस्कन्दगुप्तः महाक्षपटलाधिकरणाधि -

L. 18. कृतसामन्तमहाराजेश्वरगुप्तसमादेशाच्चोत्कीर्णं गुर्ज्जरेण सम्वत् २० + ५ मार्ग्गशीर्षवदि ६

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail! From the great camp of victory (*containing*) boats, elephants and horses, from Pinthikâ:[23]—the great king, the illustrious Naravardhana; his son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Vajriṇî, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Râjyavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Apsaras, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the great king, the illustrious Adityavardhana. His son who meditated on his (*father's*) feet (*was he who was*) born from the illustrious queen Mahâsenaguptâ, he whose fame passed beyond the four oceans, he whose sovereign power was employed in settling (*the system of*) castes and orders, who like (*the deity*) with the single-wheeled chariot[24] removed the torments of his subjects, a most devout worshipper of the Sun, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Prabhâkaravardhana. His son who meditated on his

L. 10 Read संविदितमयं सीमकुण्डिकां॰ The dot above त may, however, be accidental.

L. 11 Read विषयादुद्धृत॰.

[21] Metre of the first verse, Vasantatilakâ; of the second, Anushṭubh.

[22] L. 17 Read हर्षेणैतत्स॰.

[23] The ablatives must be construed with *sâmâjñâpayati* below, ll. 9-10.

[24] Though I am unable to prove my supposition by the quotation of parallel passages or of *Koshas*, I think that the sun is meant, the single wheel of whose chariot may here, as in the *Ṛigveda*, represent the year. The next two kings are likewise compared with those gods whom they particularly worshipped.

and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Prabhâkaravardhana, of (*my*) mother, the supreme lady and great queen, Her Majesty the illustrious queen Yaśomatî, and of the feet of (*my*) elder brother, the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, His Majesty the illustrious Râjyavardhana,—to Bhaṭṭa Vâtasvâmin, a member of the Sâvarṇi gotra, and a fellow-student of the *Chhandogas* (*a Sâmavedî*) and to Bhaṭṭa Śivadevasvâmin, a member of the Vishṇuvṛiddha gotra and a fellow-student of the *Bahvṛichas* (*a Ṛigvedî*), as a duly accepted[31] *agrahâra*. Knowing this you should agree (*to it*), and the provincials of the neighbourhood being obedient to (*my*) command should bring to these two (*donees*) alone the due income, which is to be given according to weight and according to measure, (*viz.*) the share (*of the crops*), the (*objects of*) enjoyment,[32] the taxes, the gold and so forth, and they should do them service."

Moreover, "By those who profess (*to belong to*) the noble line of our race and by others this gift ought to be agreed to. Gifts and the protection of the fame of others (*are*) the result of fortune that is unstable like lightning or a water-bubble." "With deeds, thoughts and words living beings should do their duty. Harsha has declared that an unsurpassable (*mode of*) acquiring spiritual merit."[33]

The messenger (*charged with the order*) concerning this (*grant is*) the great feudal baron, the great king Skandagupta; and (*the edict*) has been incised by Gurjara at the command of the great chief of the office of records, the feudal baron, the great king Îśvaragupta, [*Śrîharsha-*]Saṁvat 25 Mârgaśîrsha, dark half, the sixth (*lunar day*).

XII.—THE DEWAL PRAŚASTI OF LALLA THE CHHINDA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., L.L.D., C.I.E.

The Dewal Praśasti was originally discovered by Mr. H. S. Boulderson in 1829, at the village of Gaḍh Gajâna, on the west bank of the Kâvâ or Katnî stream, between Dewal and Deoriyâ, about twenty miles south-east of Pilibhit, in the North-Western Provinces.[1]

The inscription is incised with great neatness and care on a stone slab, measuring 3′ 9″ by 2′ 1″, and is in a state of almost perfect preservation. The characters are ancient Nâgarî, differing from the ordinary type of the tenth century only in that the loops on the left hand of *na* and *ma* are not closed, but represented by a curve. Similarly

[31] *Pratigrahadharmanâ*, i. e., *pratigraho dharmo yasya tena*.

[32] I understand by *bhoga* '(*objects of*) enjoyment', the so-called *haks*, fruit, firewood, flowers, pan, etc., which the villagers have to furnish to their lord either daily or on certain occasions,—see also Manu, VII, 118, and the note to my translation of the passage.

[33] Both verses are composed on the model of ancient ślokas, the first according to some commonly quoted in other grants, the second according to one from the *Mahâbhârata*, see Böthlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 1560.

[1] The document was first published with a translation in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. VI, p. 777, by Mr. J. Prinsep, according to a copy taken by Colonel Stacy. A facsimile of l. 1 and of the greater part of l. 2 accompanies Prinsep's paper. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, pp. 321—324. Later a complete facsimile was published by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. I, p. 354ff. The subjoined edition has been prepared according to an excellent paper impression taken by Dr. A. Führer, of the Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces, and sent to me by the Editor.

the left limb of *ka* in the group *ksha* is curved upwards. In all other respects the letters closely resemble those of the Paramâra, Râṭhor, and other inscriptions of the same period. As in most other inscriptions from Northern India, we find here no distinction between the letters *ba* and *va*, which doubtless were pronounced alike. In *râjahansî*, l. 3, the dental *na* is substituted for the *anusvâra*. The letter *pha* has a very archaic form. Owing to the peculiarity mentioned above and guided by a peculiar interpretation of a statement of the copyist who in verse 36 calls himself "acquainted with crooked letters" (*kuṭilâksharâṇi*), Mr. Prinsep has called the alphabet of this inscription the *Kuṭila* alphabet. It seems to me, however, that there is no sufficient reason for doing so I cannot see anything particularly crooked in any of the letters, and do not think it likely that the very slight modifications in three signs could have caused the alphabet to be designated by a special name. Moreover, if the writer says that he was acquainted with crooked letters, the natural interpretation of the phrase seems to be that it refers to his skill in reading badly written and difficult documents, not that he was acquainted with letters called *Kuṭila*. For there is nowhere else an indication that an alphabet of this name existed. Nor could the knowledge of such ordinary easily read characters as those of our inscription become the subject of a boast on the part of a professional scribe. If a writer wishes to extol his skill, he will of course say that he is proficient in the difficult local alphabets, used by the professional classes, such as the Moḍî, Lânde, &c., which all, indeed, are very "crooked" and are not easily deciphered. I would, therefore, remove the term *Kuṭila* alphabet from Indian palæography and describe the letters of the Dewal inscription as Nâgarî of the North Indian type.

The language is very high-flown Sanskrit, which, however, is not quite free from mistakes. When the author speaks, verse 21, of "holy *śâsanas*, situated on the banks of pure rivers," he uses the word *śâsana* in the sense of "villages granted by *śâsanas* or edicts," for which meaning it might be difficult to find good authority. Again, the use of *âvabhâra*, in verse 11, is very curious. Further, the construction of *samvaddhâ*, verse 32, with the locative instead of with the instrumental is ungrammatical. Finally, there are some cases where words seem to have been put in merely in order to make up the verse.

The inscription records the erection of two temples dedicated respectively to Śiva and to Pârvatî and of certain donations made to them. The founders were the provincial chief, Lalla of the Chhinda family, and his wife Lakshmî.

The pedigree of the former is given as follows :—

Chyavana.
⋮
Vairavarman.
|
Bhûshaṇa. — Malhaṇa, married to Aṇahilâ of the Chulukîśvara family.
|
Lalla, married to Lakshmî.

The allusion in verse 4 to Chyavana's quarrel with Indra shows that the person intended is the mythical sage of the Bhârgava tribe, who according to the Vedic and Purânic legends married Sukanyâ, the daughter of king Śaryâta or Śaryâti, a son or descendant of Manu Vaivasvata. The Chhinda family would, therefore, seem to have claimed connexion with the Solar line of Kshatriyas. Its name occurs elsewhere only in the Jaina lists. It is found in the slightly different form Chhindaka in the *Ratna-*

kosha,[2] and in the *Kumârapâlacharita*[3] of Jinamaṇḍana where the thirty-six Râjput tribes are likewise enumerated.

The description of the four Chhinda chiefs named is almost purely conventional. In spite of the extravagant praise of their bravery and warlike exploits, it may be considered as certain that they were only ordinary feudatories, obeying a paramount power, possibly the king of Kanauj. The real facts recorded are very few. Regarding Malhaṇa it is said in verse 11 that he was a Śaiva, and in verse 13 that his consort Aṇahilâ belonged to the royal Chulukîśvara race. The latter name is, I think, an equivalent of the better-known one Chaulukya. The Chaulukyas derive their origin from a mythical hero Chuluka, who is said to have been created from Brahman's waterpot (*chuluka*). Chulukîśvara may stand either for *chuluki(n)-îśvara* or, as I believe to be more likely, with a somewhat irregular sandhi for *chulukya-îśvara*, and may be translated the Chulukya lords. Malhaṇa's marriage seems to have been above his rank and a source of pride to the family. The definite statements regarding his son Lalla are—that he brought the Kaṭha river to his unnamed capital, verse 22, and that he built the temples of Śiva and Pârvatî in conjunction with his wife Lakshmî, endowing them with some villages, situated in the Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa, to which he gave the name Devapallî, as well as with a fourth of his income. Sir A. Cunningham's researches[4] have shown that Devapallî is the modern Dewal,[5] and that the Kaṭha river is the canal still called Katnî-nadî. The latter identification makes it very probable that Lalla's residence was the deserted fort, called Gaḍh-khera, which is almost surrounded by the canal. As the date of the inscription, Saṁvat 1049, probably refers to the Vikrama era and thus corresponds to 992-93 A.D., Lalla and the other chiefs named, all lived in the tenth century. Nehila, the author of the *Praśasti*, who, as would appear from his great praise of Lalla's liberality, must have been very well paid for his work, was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Śivarudra and belonged to the Vedic *gotra* of Vatsa. The copyist Takshâditya, son of Vishṇuhari, was a Gauḍa Kâyastha, and Somanâtha, son of Kâmadeva, the mason, who incised the document, was a native of Kanyakubja—Kanauj.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. श्री श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥

हेलाङ्गुष्ठाग्रपीडाभरनमदचलोत्संगसम्भारदूर भ्रश्यद्भूभारतिर्यग्दलितमणिफणामण्डले भोगिराजे ।
तत्कालीभ्रान्तलोकत्रितयकृतमहास्तोत्रमन्त्रावतारः पायाद्वः पा[र्व्व ती]शः शमितदशशिरःशौ -

L. 2. र्यवीर्यावलेपः ॥ [१॥][6]

शूलक्षतद्विरददानवकुंभमुक्तमुक्ताकलापकलितामलकण्ठकांतिः ।
विश्वं पुनातु गिरिजा वदनावधूतचन्द्रोपनीतपरिवेषमिवोद्वहन्ती ॥ [२॥][7]
लक्ष्मीविभ्रमकेलिसद्म सुभटव्यापारलीलास्पदं प्रख्यात -

[2] Aufrecht, *Cat. Sansk.* MSS. *Bodleian Libr.*, p. 354. The addition of the affix *ka* to names is extremely common, especially in Jaina Sanskrit.

[3] See *Ind. Off. Lib.* No. 286, p. 2 (Sansk. MSS. Bühler). Sir H. Elliot's identification (*Memoirs*, &c., vol. I, p. 73) of the Chhindas with the Chandels is most improbable, because the words do not agree and the Jaina lists contain both names.

[4] *Archæological Reports*, vol. I, pp. 353 ff.

[5] [Dewal is called 'Illâhâbâs or 'Illâhâbâd by the Muhammadans: the Katnî is also known as the Kâvâ.—J. R.]

[6] Metre, Sragdharâ. Only the व्व of the syllables र्व्वती is distinguishable.

[7] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 3. क्षितिपालरत्नजलधिः श्रीराजहन्मीसरः ।
सद्वीरव्रततीर्थमर्थिकुमुदप्रह्लादनेन्दुर्द्विषद्वंशभ्रंशदवानलो विजयतां छिन्दक्षितीशान्वयः ॥ [३॥][8]
उत्पत्तिरस्य हि पुरा च्यवनान्महर्षेर्व्वाक्तव्यलीककलिते क्षिदशाधिनाथे ।
तद्दर्प्पनिर्द्दलनदत्तकठो -

L. 4. रट्टष्टेरष्टासु दिक्षु यशसैव सह प्रसिद्धा ॥ [४॥][9]
वंशेस्मिन्सितकीर्त्तिकन्दलवति श्रीवैरवर्म्माख्यया ख्यातोभूद्भुवि भूषितावनितलो राजन्यचूडामणिः ।
जन्मस्थानमिवाकलय्य कमला तुङ्गात्मनां भाविनाम्भर्त्तृणामवनेश्चकार चतुरा यस्यालयान्तस्थिति-

L. 5. म् ॥ [५][10]
त्यागी धर्म्मपरः पराक्रमधनः सत्यप्रियः कीर्त्तिमान्सन्मार्ग्गानुगतः शुचिर्दृढमतिर्म्मानोन्नतो नीतिमान् ।
शौर्यौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो यः सङ्गतः सज्जनैर्युक्तः सर्व्वगुणोदयेन महतामाराधनीयोभवत् ॥ [६॥][11]
तस्मादत्युग्रतेजःप्रसरनियमितारा -

L. 6. तिपङ्क्तीपसंगः श्रीमांश्चण्डप्रतापः सकलवसुमतीभूषणं भूषणोभूत् ।
यस्योद्योगप्रसर्प्पद्बलभरदलितक्ष्मातलस्थस्थवीयः शेषाहिश्वासशोषादगमदिरिणतां निर्ज्जलं भोगि-

सद्म ॥ [७॥][12]
यत्सैन्यगन्धगजगण्डगलन्मदाम्भः संजातचन्द्रकशतैरिव मुद्रि -

L. 7. तासु ।
दूरे विपक्षकरिणी वनदन्तिनोपि भूयो न वारि जगृहुः सरसीष्वरण्ये ॥ [८][13]
यः सेवागतराजचक्रमुकुटोद्घृष्टांघ्रिपीठस्थलो भर्त्ता यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालंकारवत्या भुवः ।
विक्षेपैरपि यस्य तै रघुपतेराशोषिताः सिन्धवो यस्तस्यापि महाकुला -

L. 8. [च]ल इवावष्टभ्य तस्थौ भुवम् ॥ [९॥][14]
यस्यैषा राजधानी रजनिकरकराकारकान्तैर्गुणौघैः पूर्णेवाद्यापि रमा स्फुरति मरकतश्यामलैः काननान्तैः ।
उद्यानैर्न्दनाभैरतिविशदसुधासेकशुभ्रैः सुराणां प्रासादैरुन्नताग्रैरमरपतिपुरीस्पर्द्धिनीव विभाति ॥

[१०][15]
त -

L. 9. स्यानुजः समभवद्भवभक्तिनम्रः श्रीमल्लहणः परिघपीवरबाहुदण्डः ।
भ्रातुः कृपाणतुलिताहितराजचक्रं यो लीलयैव धवलो धुरमावभार [॥ [११॥][16]
ल[ब्ध]ा ततः स विपुलामपि राजलक्ष्मीं भक्तिं परामकृत देवगुरुद्विजेषु ।

L. 10. प्रीत्यै सुहृत्प्रणयिबन्धुजनेजनिष्ट दुष्टक्षयादतनुतातिमुदं प्रजासु ॥ [१२॥][17]
तस्य प्रियापि चुलुकीश्वरराजवंशसम्भूतिरुज्वलगुणाभरणाभिरामा ।
गीता जगत्यणहिलेति समस्तकान्तशुद्धान्तवक्त्रकमलेन्दुकला बभूव ॥ [१३॥][18]
तस्यां श्रीलल्लनामाजनि जनितमहामण्डलाधीशशङ्कः शूरः कुन्दे -

[8] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[9] Metre, Indravajrâ.
[10] Metre, Śârdulavikrîḍita.
[11] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[12] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[13] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; the first letter of l. 8 is destroyed.
[15] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[16] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[17] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; the second syllable of the verse is mutilated, but recognisable.
[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 11. न्दुदत्तद्युतितुलितगुणालंकृताशामुखश्रीः ।
योसौ सामन्तचक्राचलकनकगिरिर्व्विहृतारातिलक्ष्मीतिर्यङ्क्षिप्तान्तपाताहतभुजशिखरश्छिन्दवंशप्र-
रोहः ॥ [१४][19]

चित्तं यदस्य किल जन्मदिने ममन्तात् श्रीमल्हणस्य भवने परमप्रमोदे ।
आवेदयंत्युदयम -

L. 12. म्बरतः पपात । भृङ्गालिमङ्गलरवैरिव पुष्पवृष्टिः ॥ [१५॥][20]

नोन्निद्रा नलिनी न चार्प्पितमनस्निग्धा सतां सङ्गति-र्नोत्फुल्लस्तवका नता वनलता शीमा ससस्या
न च ।
नोद्दामा कविभारती न च तथा हृद्या शरत्कौमुदी लक्ष्मीर्यस्य यथा वभूव विदुषामानन्दनिष्यन्दि -

L. 13. नी ॥ [१६][21]

किञ्चातैरपरैर्द्धराधिपतिभिर्म्मन्ये वृथा रचिता येषान्तिष्ठति दुर्भगेव वनिता श्रीरप्यभोग्या गृहे ।
नाभूदस्ति न नापि कोपि भविता भूपालचूडामणिर्यः श्रीलक्ष्मनरेन्द्रचन्द्रसदृशस्त्यागेन भोगेनच ॥
[१७॥][22]

आदौ सङ्गरसंगताहितमहामातङ्गकुम्भ[स्थ] -

L. 14. लो सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिरुज्वलयशस्तेजोभिरिद्धस्ततः ।
उत्खातारितमःप्रतापविसरैराक्रान्तदिग्मण्डल स्त्रिग्मांशोस्तुलनाम्बिभर्त्ति भुवने यन्मण्डलाग्रोधुना॥
[१८॥][23]

अब्धौ मुक्तायमाना शिरसि हिमगिरेरभ्रगङ्गायमाना
व्योम्नि ज्योत्स्नायमाना दिशि दिशि करिणां कुम्भ -

L. 15. मालायमाना ।
उच्चैर्द्देवालयानामुपरि सितपताकायमाना यदीया
कीर्त्तिर्भ्रान्ता समन्तादनुनदि पुलिने राजहंसीयमाना ॥ [१९॥][24]
कष्टे काले कलावप्यभिभवति जगत्कूपवापीतडागै रासन्नारामसत्रैः सुरसदनमठैर्म्मण्डितायाम-
मुष्याम् ॥

रमग्रामृद्धिं वहन्त्या -

L. 16. मतिसुजनजनानन्दितायां नगर्यां यस्मिन्धर्म्मावतारे प्रकृतकृतयुगाम्भर-
सम्भावनाभूत् [२०॥][25]

यः शासनान्यतिसमृद्धजनान्वितानि सीमान्तसस्यबहुलानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यः ।
पार्श्वप्रशस्ततरुषण्डमनोहराणि पुण्यानि निर्म्मलनदीतटवासभांजि ॥ [२१][26]
गङ्गा भ -

L. 17. गीरथेनेव येन मार्गोपदेशिना ।
स्वपुरीसन्निधौ रम्या पुण्या कठनदी कृता ॥ [२२][27]
तस्याभवत्प्रणयिनी मधुसूदनस्य लक्ष्मीरिवामलकुलाम्बुनिधेः प्रसूता ।

[19] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[20] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; read ०मनःस्निग्धा सीमा.
[22] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The last letter of line 13 is destroyed. I do not correct ०उज्वल०, because the spelling is permissible.
[24] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[25] Metre, Sragdharâ.
[26] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[27] Metre, Anushṭubh.

सर्व्वावरोधनवधूमुखपद्मषण्ड प्रालेयवृष्टिरपराभिधयापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ [२३॥][28]
भक्त्या च या विनयनम्रतया

L. 18. च पत्युश्चेतो जहार गुणवत्यनुरागिणी च ।
रमंग हराद्रिसुतयोरिव तत्तथा हि प्रेमापि रूढमनयोरितरेतरस्थम् ॥ [२४॥][29]
आरामोद्यानवापीषु देवतायतनेषु च ।
कृतानि क्रियमाणानि यस्याः कर्म्माणि सर्व्वदा ॥ [२५][30]
दीनानाथविपन्नेषु करुणान्वितचेतसः ।
सत्त्वे -

L. 19. षु भुञ्जते यस्या विप्रसंघा दिने दिने ॥ [२६॥][31]
इत्थं विविक्तमनयोः परिवर्द्धमानधर्म्मप्रबन्धविगलत्कलिकालवृत्त्योः ।
एकस्तयोरमुमकारयदिन्दुमौलेः प्रासादमद्रितनयाभवनन्तथान्या ॥ [२७॥][32]
सुरगृहयुगमेतत्तुङ्गकैलासशृङ्गद्वितयतुलितकान्ति श्वेत -

L. 22. मुचः सुधाभिः ।
वितरति हृदि नान्तर्व्विस्मयं कस्य वातप्रहतघनपताकाकंपिताम्भोदवृन्दम् ॥ [२८॥][33]
यावत्सकौस्तुभमुरो मुरमर्द्दनस्य शम्भोः शशाङ्कशकलाभरणं शिरश्च ।
यावत्स्थितिन्दधति तीयधयः समस्ताः स्तादेव तावदचला भुवि कीर्त्तिरेषा ॥ [२९॥][34]
स जय -

L. 23. तु भुवि लल्लश्छिन्दवंशप्रवीरः सममतिगुणवत्या कान्तया चेह लक्ष्म्या ।
रिपुगजमदपंकप्लावितायेण येन प्रतिरणमसिनैवालेखि दिक्षु प्रशस्तिः ॥ ३०][35]
भूत्यै सदैव भवने कृतसंनिधाना नानाविधानि दुरितानि विनाशयन्ती ।
साध[त्य]दारपरिवर्ग्ग[सु] -

L. 24. हृद्गणस्य श्रीलल्लमण्डलपतेरनघास्तु देवी ॥ [३१॥][36]
भूषणस्य मयूतायां सम्बद्धा भूमिरुत्तमा ।
विधाय देवपल्लीति देवयोः प्रतिपादिता ॥ [३२॥][37]
पूजासंस्कारहेतोश्च शिवयोः शासनोक्तः ।
दानादायस्य पादोपि श्रीलल्लेन सुकीर्त्तिना ॥ [३३॥][38]
प्रख्यातवत्समुनिवंशसमुद्र[वो] -

L. 25. भूङ्गदीनुरूपचरितः शिवरुद्रनामा ।
तत्सूनुना विरचिताभिनवा प्रशस्तिरेषा प्रसन्नकविता किल नेहिलेन ॥ [३४॥][39]
यस्य प्रसन्नसरला पदमालिकेयं प्रह्लादहेतुरधिकं सदलंकृतिश्च ॥
श्रीलल्लनिर्म्मलगुणग्रथनाभिरामा मुक्तावलीव हृदये विदुषां चकास्ति ॥ [३५][40]

[28] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[29] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[30] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[31] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[32] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[33] Metre, Mâlinî.
[34] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.
[35] Metre, Mâlinî.
[36] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; the letters placed between brackets are half destroyed.
[37] Metre, Anushṭubh.
[38] Metre, Anushṭubh. Read सुकीर्त्तिना.
[39] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. The last letter of line 24 is damaged.
[40] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

L. 26. विष्णुहरेस्तनयेन च लिखिता गौडेन करणिकेणैषा ।
कुटिलाक्षराणि विदुषा तक्षादित्याभिधानेन ॥ [३६॥][41]
कन्यकुब्जागतेनापि कामदेवसुतेन च ।
उत्कीर्णा सोमनाथेन टङ्कविज्ञानशालिना ॥ [३७ ॥[42]
सम्वत्सरसहस्र १०४९ मार्ग्ग वदि ७ गुरुदिने ॥द्य॥[43]

TRANSLATION.

Om, Om, Adoration to Śiva!

1. May the husband of Pârvatî protect you,—he by whom the mainfestation of a charm (*in the shape of*) the *Mahâstotra*, was made in the three worlds that were greatly frightened at that time when the King of Serpents had his jewelled heads obliquely rent by the load of the earth that fell far away in consequence of the multitude of the mountain-plateaux bending under the weight of a gentle pressure of the tip of (*Śiva's*) great toe—he who humbled the pride entertained by the ten-headed (*Râvaṇa*) on account of his strength and valour.[44]

2. May the Daughter of the Mountain purify the universe—she the spotless splendour of whose throat has been gained through a multitude of pearls fallen from the frontal globes of the Dânava (*who assumed the shape of*) an elephant (*and was*) wounded by (*her*) trident, she who wears as it were the halo surrounding the moon which is surpassed by her face.[45]

3. Victorious be the race of the Chhinda princes, the scene of the coquettish sport of Lakshmî, the field of the playful activity of brave warriors, an ocean containing jewels (*in the shape of*) renowned kings, a lake for the royal swan Śrî, a sacred bathing-place for those who keep the vow of noble heroes, a moon to gladden the needy, (*who may be compared to*) the night lotuses, a forest-fire for the destruction of the families of (*their*) foes (*who resemble*) bamboos.

4. Its origin in ancient times from the great sage Chyavana—who sternly frowned in order to break the pride of the Lord of the gods when he was openly tainted by sin[46]—is known in the eight regions of the world together with its fame.

5. In this race which possesses brilliant fame (*comparable to the white flowers of the*) Kandala, was born a crest-jewel of warriors, famous on earth under the appellation 'the illustrious Vairavarman' in whose house the clever goddess of Fortune took

[41] Metre, Âryâ.

[42] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[43] The word सहस्र is superfluous and ought to be expunged. The mistake seems to have been caused by the author having originally intended to give the date both in words and in figures.

[44] I have rendered the first huge epithet of Śiva as literally as possible, because I do not know the myth to which it refers. Śiva's encounter with Râvaṇa is frequently alluded to in the *Kâvyas*.

[45] The demon who assumed the shape of an elephant is no doubt Mahishâsura. According to the *Devîmâhâtmya*, *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, LXXIII, 30, the Âsura turned himself also into a Mahâgaja. When speaking of the halo which surrounds the face of Pârvatî, the poet may have thought of representations, such as are found in Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, plate vii, where her head is surrounded by a glory. *Chandropanîta* which I have taken as equivalent to *chandrâya upanîta*, may also stand for *chandreṇa upanîta*. In the latter case it would indicate that the moon, found on Śiva's crest, transferred his halo to the goddess who is closely united with her husband in the form of Ardhanârî.

[46] This refers to the quarrel of Indra and Chyavana, caused by the latter's appropriating a share of the offerings to the Aśvins; see H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurâṇa*, vol. III, p. 248, and Dr. F. E. Hall's note thereon. I am unable to find the story in the *Kaushîtaki-Brâhmaṇa* where it ought to stand according to the scholiast.

up her abode, foreseeing, as it were, (*that it would be*) the birth-place of high-minded future lords of the earth;

6. Who (*Vairavarman*), being liberal, pious, energetic, fond of truth, famous, a follower of the path of the virtuous, pure, of firm intellect, exalted through (*proper*) pride,[47] politic, the abode of valour, munificence and discernment, an associate of the virtuous, (*and*) endowed with all virtues, became worshipful for great men.

7. From him sprang illustrious Bhûshaṇa[48] of fierce prowess, an ornament of the whole earth, who through the expansion of his exceedingly terrible lustre prevented mud (*i.e. his*) enemies from sticking (*to him*). Through the heat of the breath of the very stout serpent Śesha who lying under the earth was wounded by the weight of that (*Bhûshaṇa's*) army when it strenuously marched forward, the abode of the snakes (*Pâṭâla*) was converted into a salt-marsh.

8. In the forest-lakes which were marked, as it were, with hundreds of dark spots sprung from the ichor that dropped from the temples of the rutting elephants of his army, even the wild elephants—how much less those of his enemies—no longer drank water.

9. His footstool was scratched by the crowns of a multitude of princes who came to serve him; he was the lord of the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by an ornamental zone; the oceans were almost dried up by his camps (*as*) by those of the lord of the Raghus, resembling one of the primeval mountains he stood supporting the earth.[49]

10. This capital of his, filled as it were with numerous excellent qualities that are lovely like the shape of the beams of the moon, glitters even at present, charming on account of its woods that are dark-green like emeralds, (*and*) seems to rival the town of the lord of the immortals with its gardens resembling Nandana, with its high-topped temples of the gods that are resplendent with the sprinkling of exceedingly pure whitewash.

11. His younger brother was the illustrious Malhaṇa, who, in devotion, bowed to Bhava,—whose strong arm was stout like a club, who resplendent (*with fame*)[50] sportively took over the burden (*of the empire*) from his brother, proving himself equal to the multitude of hostile kings with his sword.[51]

12. Though he gained thereby great royal fortune, he showed the highest devotion to gods, Gurus and Brâhmans; he was born for the joy of his friends, intimates and kinsmen; he spread delight among his subjects by destroying the wicked.

[47] Or, "exalted through honours" (*conferred by his suzerain*).

[48] Bhûshaṇa, left out in Mr. Prinsep's translation, not the monstrous Mâṁschanda-pratâpa, which owes its origin to a wrong division of the syllables of two epithets and to a mislection, is the name of the second chief. Bhûshaṇa is still a very common proper name, usually spelt and pronounced Bhûkhaṇ. By the epithet *chaṇḍapratâpaḥ*, Bhûshaṇa is compared with the sun and this comparison suggests that of his enemies to the mud which the sun dries up and prevents from sticking.

[49] The translation of the third and fourth Pâdas is not certain. In Pâda 3, I have taken *vikshepa* in the sense of 'camp' which it certainly has in the inscriptions of the Gurjara king Ḍadda II. If that is correct, it must be assumed that the armies are represented as having required, on account of their magnitude, the whole contents of the oceans for drinking-water. Indian poets frequently speak of the soldiers of their heroes drinking from the ocean, apparently forgetting that the thing is impossible (see *e.g.* the great Andhra inscription of Pulumâyi, *Arch. Reports of Western India*, vol. IV, p. 108, l. 3). Possibly, however, *vikshepa* may mean 'constructions' and the poet wished to say that Bhûshaṇa built bridges or dams across the ocean, as Râma did when invading Ceylon. In the fourth Pâda I have left untranslated the words *tasyâ pi*, of which I cannot make anything. I am inclined to assume that they have been put in in order to make up the verse.

[50] *Dhavala*, 'resplendent (*with fame*),' may possibly be intended as a second name or *biruda* of Malhaṇa.

[51] One would have expected °*chakraḥ*. But the actual reading may be defended on the supposition that the compound is an *avyayîbhâva* modifying *âvabhâra*. It would seem that Malhaṇa had to fight for the succession or possibly took the chiefship by force from his brother.

13. But his wife, sprung from the royal race of Chulukîśvara, lovely through the ornament of shining qualities, celebrated in the world as Aṇahilâ[52], was (*as*) the new moon to the lotus faces of the whole harem of her husband.

14. From her was born a hero, called the illustrious Lalla, who caused fear to great rulers of provinces, who adorned the beauteous faces of the (*nymphs guarding*) the regions by his virtues which equalled the brilliancy of jasmin, the moon and ivory; he was a shoot of the Chhinda race, whose high arm was struck by the oblique glance of the goddess of Fortune that he took from his enemies.

15. Wonderful (*it was*) that, forsooth, on the day of his birth a rain of flowers fell from the sky all around in the most joyful palace of the illustrious Malhaṇa, announcing, as it were, (*his future*) prosperity by the auspicious humming of the bees.

16. Neither a lake with opened lotuses, nor the company of the virtuous, dear to those who give them their hearts, nor bending forest-creepers with full-blown flower-bunches, nor fields covered with crops, nor the high-flown speech of poets, nor the light of the autumnal moon, is so pleasing to the heart, as his good fortune that showers joy on the learned.

17. What is the use of the birth of other princes, in whose palaces Ween Fortune resides, like a hapless woman[53] guarded in vain and unenjoyed? No crest-jewel of princes ever existed, exists, or will exist who resembles the illustrious moon-like prince, Lalla, in liberality and in enjoyment.

18. His sword now equals in the world the fierce-rayed (*sun*), as first it possesses a ruddy hue derived from the minium on the frontal globes of the huge elephants of his foes meeting him in battle, and then, flaming with the brilliant lustre of his fame, it occupies all the regions with its majestic power that destroys his enemies who resemble darkness.

19. His fame wanders all around (*the world*), becoming a pearl in the ocean, appearing on the top of the snowy mountain as the heavenly Gaṅgâ, changing to the moon-light in the sky and in every quarter of the horizon to the frontal globes of the (*guardian*) elephants,[54] being visible on high, above the temples, as a white flag and on the sands of every river in the shape of royal swans.

20. Though the dread Kali age oppresses the world, there arose—when justice became incarnate in him—the idea that the original Kṛita age had begun in that town (*of his*) which is adorned with round and square wells and tanks, with temples of the gods and monasteries having gardens and alms-houses[55] attached, which shows a pleasing prosperity, and which is joyful with most virtuous men.

21. He presented to the Brâhmans, by grants, sacred villages which are inhabited by very wealthy people, on whose fields corn is plentiful, which are pleasant through neighbouring groves of excellent trees, and are situated on the banks of pure rivers.

22. The pleasant, holy river Kaṭha was conducted by him, who showed it the way to his town, just as Gaṅgâ (*was brought down from heaven*) by Bhagîratha.

[52] This is the feminine of the word *Aṇahila*, which forms the first part of Aṇahilapâṭaka or Aṇhilvâḍ. The masculine occurs also as Aṇahila in the Valabhî inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 76.

[53] I am afraid *durbhagâ* is put in order to make a most indecent pun. At all events the poet is guilty of *grâmyatva*.

[54] The elephants guarding the quarters are white, just like the fame of Lalla.

[55] *Sattra* means here *annasattra* or *sadâvrata*, see also below, verse 26.

23. His wife became she, who is born from a pure ocean-like family (*and therefore*) resembles Lakshmî, the wife of Madhusûdana rising from the pure ocean, her ancestral home,—she who is a snow-shower to the lotus-thicket of the faces of all the (*other*) ladies of (*her husband's*) harem,[56] and who even according to her appellation is a second Lakshmî.

24. She, being endowed with virtues and affectionate, charmed the heart of her husband by her devotion and her modest humility; for their pleasing mutual affection is even as high grown as that of Hara and of the Daughter of the Mountain *Pârvatî*).

25. In parks, gardens, wells and temples of the gods her (*good*) works have been performed, are ever being performed.

26. Crowds of Brâhmans dine every day in the alms-houses maintained by her, who is compassionate towards the distressed, the helpless and the decayed.

27. Thus it was resolved by those two (*Lalla and his consort*) through whose increasing acquisition of merit the manners of the Kali age disappear; the one of them built this temple of the god who wears the moon on his head, and the other that of the Daughter of the Mountain.

28. Whose heart does not this pair of temples fill with wonder, the splendour of which equals that of two high tops of Kailâsa, which is on high white with stucco (*and*) by whose numerous flags, agitated by the wind, the cloud banks are shaken?

29. As long as the breast of the destroyer of Mura is decked with the Kaustubha jewel, as long as the head of Śambhu is adorned with the crescent of the moon, as long as all the oceans exist, so long may this (*source of*) fame remain firm on earth.

30. Victorious be here on earth Lalla, the chief hero of the Chhinda race, together with his most virtuous consort Lakshmî,—he who in every battle has written a eulogy (*of himself*) on the firmament even with his sword, the tip of which is covered by the muddy ichor of his enemies' elephants.

31. May holy Devî[57] who destroys misfortunes of various kinds, be ever present to (*grant*) welfare in the palace of the illustrious Lalla, the ruler of a province, who is united with his children, wife, dependants and friends.

32. The excellent land connected with the Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa[58] has been presented to the two deities, having been given the name Devapallî.

33. And for the purpose of the worship and of the repairs, illustrious Lalla of good fame has granted by a charter, after (*making*) a (*solemn*) donation, to Śiva and his consort one-fourth of his revenues.

34. There was a *Bhaṭṭa* of befitting conduct, called Śivarudra, born in the famous line of the sage Vatsa. By his son Nehila has been composed this new eulogy, the poetry of which is perspicuous.

35. This perspicuous and simple wreath of verses of his, which is the cause of exceedingly great joy, which possesses true poetical ornaments and is lovely through the

[56] *i.e.*, who surpasses her rivals in beauty or, to use the oriental phrase, *blackens* their faces like a snow-shower the water-lilies.

[57] Devî, *i.e.*, Pârvatî.

[58] The Mayûtâ of Bhûshaṇa has not been identified. Possibly it may be the town or suburb of the capital, mentioned above in verse 10.

description of the pure virtues of illustrious Lallah, glitters in the hearts of the learned like a string of pearls.[59]

36. And this (*eulogy*) has been written by the son of Vishṇuhari, a Gauḍa clerk,[60] called Takshâditya, who knows crooked letters.

37. And it has been incised by Somanâtha, the son of Kâmadeva, who came from Kanyakubja and is experienced in (*work performed with*) the chisel.

One thousand years, 1049, Mârga, dark half 7, on a Thursday.

XIII.—A VALABHÎ GRANT OF DHRUVASENA III. DATED SAMVAT 334.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

Like the Râshṭrakûṭa grant published above,[1] the original of the subjoined grant was found at Kâpaḍvaṇaj in Gujarât. The document is inscribed on the inner sides of two copper-plates with raised rims. Each plate measures 1′ 3″ by 10¾″. The right-hand ring has been lost. The left-hand ring, which bears the seal, is of irregular shape and about ⅓″ thick. The oval seal measures 2″ by 2½″ and bears—in relief, on a countersunk surface—a seated bull facing the left and below it the legend श्रीभटार्कः. Both the plates and the seal are in a state of almost perfect preservation.

The grant is dated "from the victorious camp pitched at Siri-Simmiṇikâ," which looks like a Prâkṛit name. The inscription gives the usual genealogy down to Dhruvasena III. and records that the latter granted the village of Paṭṭapadraka, which was situated in the Dakshiṇa-paṭṭa of the Śivabhâgapura-vishaya,[2] to the Brâhmaṇa Bhaṭṭibhaṭa, the son of Bappa, a native, inhabitant and *chaturvedin* of Mahichhaka, who belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and studied the *Vâjasaneya-śâkhâ*. The name Mahichhaka, which occurs twice in the grant, seems to be a later correction in somewhat different characters. The *dûtaka* was the *pramâṭṛi* Nâga,[3] and the document was written by the chief secretary (*divirapati*) Anahila,[4] the son of the chief secretary Skandabhaṭa,[5] who was "charged with peace and war" (*saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita*). The date of the grant[6] was the 9th day of the bright half of Mâgha of [*Gupta*-]Saṁvat 334 or 653-54 A.D.

[59] I am unable to render the pun in *hṛidaye*, which, if referred to the string of pearls, means 'on the heart' or 'on the breast;' if referred to the verses 'in the heart' or 'in the mind.'

[60] *Karaṇika* 'clerk,' *i.e.* Kâyastha, is derived from *karaṇa*, which means both 'a written document' (see the *Petersburg Dict. sub voce*) and 'a Government office.' The latter meaning may be gathered from Hemachandra's commentary on his *Yogaśâstra*, III, 127: यथोचितं स्थानम् । यथोचितमिति । यदा राजा तदा धवलगृहं यदामात्यस्तदा करणं यदा वणिगादिरापणमिति ॥

[1] *Ante*, p. 52.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 79, where the reading of the facsimile is श्रीनाग, not श्रीना ॥ as the transcript has it.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 76, and vol. XI, p. 306.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, pp. 17, 45f., and vol. VII, p. 73.

[6] According to Professor Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 337, note 10, and vol. XVII, p. 197, note 50), an unpublished grant of Dhruvasena III. is dated in Saṁvat 332. The reign of Dhruvasena III. is limited by the latest date of his predecessor Dharasena IV. (330) and by the date of his successor Kharagraha II. (337).

TEXT.

PLATE I.

[L. 1.] श्रीं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् सिरिसिम्मिणिकावासकात् प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशत -

[2.] लब्धप्रतापाव्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्क्कादव्यवच्छि -

[3.] न्नराजवङ्शाम्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस -

[4.] त्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसहतिः[7] सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्व -

[5.] र्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यगांभीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणव -

[6.] दपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल[:×] प्रार्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्री -

[7.] गुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रि -

[8.] तः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशीक्षा[8]विशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपा -

[9.] कर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपा -

[10.] र्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ग्रातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशो -

[11.] भासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितल -

[12.] वेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगांभीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति -

[13.] पथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिः धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः

[14.] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ग्रातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञा -

[15.] संपादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन् खेदसुखे[9]रतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसंपत्तिः प्रभावसंपद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि

[16.] परावज्ञाभमान[10]रसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृत -

[17.] निखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्न्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्वेषैरन[ा×]मृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्र -

[7] Read ०संहतिः.
[8] Read ०शिक्षा०.
[9] Read ०सुख०.
[10] Read ०ज्ञाभिमान०.

[18.] ख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्र -

[19.] हस्तस्य तनयः तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन><परितोषातिशयः सत्वसपदा[11] त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुस -

[20.] न्धानाशमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोरचरित[12]गह्वरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिर -

[21.] [कृ]त्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदंडविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः

[22.] स्वधनु><प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानुजः तत्प[ा*]दा -

[23.] नुद्ध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विणयाणा[13] मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृढ्वगु -

[24.] णानुरागनिर्ब्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान् निर्व्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्कः कुमुदनाथः

[25.] प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्वस्तिताध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितः सविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवंतमतिबहुतिथ -

[26.] प्रयोजनानुबंधमागमपरिपूर्णवदधानः[14] सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददहुण -

PLATE II.

[27.] वृद्धिविधानजनित[संस्का]रः [सा]धूनां राज्यसालातुरीय[15]तन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवा -

[28.] नप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशम[16] स्थिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहित'-

[29.] भुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादकमलप्रणामधरणिक -

[30.] षणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षा -

[31.] लिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्व्वसुन्धरायाः कार्म्मुके धनुर्व्वेद इव संभावितशेषलक्ष्य -

[32.] कलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गधृतचूडारत्न[ा×]यमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरच -

[33.] क्रवर्त्तिश्रीधरसेनस्तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयवकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं तत्पा -

[34.] दारविन्दप्रवृत्तया नखमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितोत्तमाङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्यैव राजर्षेर्द्दीक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्रबलधवलिम्ना य -

[11] Read सत्त्वसंपदा.
[12] Read ०लोकचरित०.
[13] Read विषयाणां.
[14] Read ०पूर्णं विदधानः.
[15] Read ०शालातुरीय०.
[16] Read प्रशमी.

[35.] शसा[17] वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि यामिनीपतेर्व्विडम्बिताखण्डपरिवेषमण्डलस्य पयोद-श्यामशिखरचूचुकरुचिरसह्यविन्ध्यस्तनयु -

[36.] गाया: क्षितेऽपत्यु: श्रीडेरभटस्याङ्गज: क्षितिपसंहतेरनुरागिण्या: शुचियशोङ्शुकभृत: स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रियमर्प्पियन्त्या × क[18]-

[37.] तपरिग्रह: शौर्य्यमप्रतिहतव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाग्रमिवावलम्बमान: शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिल[19]-

[38.] मुखबाणासनापादितप्रसाधनानां परभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहण: पूर्व्वमेव विविधव-र्णोज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितश्च -

[39.] वण: पुण:[20] पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतश्रोत्र: परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकोटपत्तरत्नकिरण-मविच्छिन्नप्रदानसलिलनि -

[40.] वहावसेकविलसन्नवशैवलाङ्कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुद्वहन् धृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातटायमा-नभुजपरिष्वक्तविश्व -

[41.] भर: परममाहेश्वर: श्रीध्रुवसेन × कुशली सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याप्यायनाय

[42.] महिछ[क]विनिर्गतमहिछकवास्तव्यैतत्तातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारि-ब्र[।×]ह्मणबप्पपुत्रभट्टिभटाय

[43.] शिवभागपुरविषये दक्षिणपट्टे पट्टपद्रकग्राम: सोद्रङ्ग: सोपरिकर: सभूतवातप्रत्याय: सधान्य-हिरण्यादेयस्सद -

[44.] शापराधस्सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकस्सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय: पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयरहित: भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना -

[45.] चन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन: पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण धर्म्मदायो निसृष्ट: यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्म -

[46.] देयाग्र(।)हारस्थित्या भुंजत: कृषत: कर्षयत: प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्ग्रासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागा-मिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्दृश -

[47.] जैरन्यैर्व्वा स्वनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दा-योनुमन्तव्यऽपरिपालयितव्यश्चेत्यक्त[21]-

[48.] च ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [।×]। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दत्तानि धर्म्मायतनीक्त -

[49.] तानि [।×] निर्ब्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि [तानि×] को नाम साधुऽपुनराददीत [॥×] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद: [।×] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥×] दूतकोत्र प्रमातृश्रीनाग:

[50.] लिखितमिदं संन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीमदनहिलेनेति ॥ सं ३०० ३० ४ माघ शु ८ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

[17] Read यशसा.
[18] Read ०श्रियमर्पयन्त्या: क्त०.
[19] Read ०शिलो०.
[20] Read पुन:.
[21] Read ०श्चेत्युक्त०.

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Oṁ. Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Siri-Simmiṇikâ From the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭârka, who had obtained majesty by hundreds of battles[22] fought in the vast territories, which were held by the matchless army of the Maitrakas; who had prostrated their enemies by force[23]; who had gained the devotion of those whom he prostrated by his majesty, by his impartiality (*in conferring*) presents and honours; who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (*which consisted*) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts[24]; and whose royal lineage was uninterrupted,—(*there descended*) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Guhasena, all whose sins were washed away by his prostrations at the lotus-feet of his father and mother; who, ever sword in hand from his infancy, brightened the touchstone of his courage by splitting the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes; the rays of whose toe-nails mingled with the splendour of the crest-jewels of the enemies whom he had prostrated by the power of that (*courage*); who (*made*) the word "king" (*râjan*) true to its meaning by delighting (*rañjana*) the hearts of his subjects through careful observance of the conduct prescribed in all *smṛitis;* who surpassed Cupid in beauty, the moon in splendour, the king of mountains in firmness, the ocean in profundity, the preceptor of the gods in wisdom, and the lord of treasures in wealth; who, in his readiness to grant safety to refugees, scattered as trifles all (*the riches*) gained by his (*warlike*) deeds; who made the loving hearts of his learned friends rejoice by granting them more riches than they desired; and who appeared to be an incarnation of the delight of the vast circle of the whole world.[25]

(L. 7.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dharasena, all whose sins were washed away by the flood of the waters of the Gaṅgâ, which flowed from the cluster of rays, (*that issued from*) the toe-nails of (*his father*); whose wealth was lived upon by hundreds of thousands of loving (*servants*); whom attractive virtues[26] approached impetuously, as if it were out of a desire for his beauty; who astonished all archers by his natural ability and excellent training; who preserved the meritorious gifts made by former princes; who drove away the plagues which oppressed his subjects; who demonstrated (*the possibility of*) the co-existence in one person of prosperity and wisdom; whose valour knew how to enjoy the prosperity of the party of his united enemies; and who obtained pure royal splendour by his valour.

(L. 10.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Śîlâditya, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*); who covered the whole horizon with the multitude of his wonderful virtues, which made the whole world rejoice; who carried a heavy burden of serious projects on the pedestal of his shoulders, the splendour of

[22] The earlier Valabhî grants read संप्रहार 'battle' for प्रहार 'blow.'

[23] The last translator of the above passage has been Professor Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, p. 329). Regarding his translation I venture to observe, that it seems easier to connect the genitive मैत्रकाणां with बल, than with the more distant मण्डलाभोग.

[24] On these technical meanings of *maula, bhṛita* and *śreṇî*, see the Hon V. N. Mandlik's note, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XI, p. 346.

[25] The last sentence might also mean: "who (*gives*) delight to, as the traveller (*takes*) delight in, the vast circle of the whole world."

[26] On the *âbhigâmikâ guṇâḥ* see *Jour. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 348.

which was increased by the flashing of his sword, that possessed the lustre of victory in hundreds of battles; who was easily pleased by everybody even through a trifling *bon mot*, although his mind was refined by the study of the higher and lower branches of all sciences; whose noble nature was well shown by his extremely virtuous conduct, although the profundity of his heart was unfathomable by the whole world; who acquired great fame by purifying the deserted path of the princes of the *Kṛita-yuga*; and whose second name Dharmâditya arose from (*the fact that*) his enjoyment of an abundance of wealth and pleasure was made still more resplendent by his never obstructing the law (*dharma*).

(L. 14.) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*); whose excellent character was not troubled by fatigue or love of pleasure, while, like a noble bullock, he bore the royal dignity,—which his elder brother, who resembled (*Indra*) the elder brother of Upendra (*Vishṇu*) himself, had most respectfully placed on his shoulders, though it (*viz., the royal dignity*) was a desirable object,—merely because his only pleasure was to fulfil his (*viz., his elder brother's*) commands; whose mind was untouched by the feeling of contempt of others or of pride, though his foot-stool was covered with the splendour of the crest-jewels of hundreds of princes, whom he had subdued by his great power; towards whom even those enemies, whose manliness and pride were notorious, found no other means of action than submission alone; who forcibly stopped all the coquettish ways of the Kali (*yuga*) by the collection of his pure virtues, which gave delight to the whole world; whose noble heart was untouched by all the sins which overcome low people; and who proclaimed his obtaining the first rank among heroes by wooing to himself the prosperity of a crowd of hostile princes by his famous manliness and extreme skill in weapons.

(L. 19.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dharasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his father*); who gave immense delight to the minds of all learned men by his mastery of all sciences; who, by great courage and noble liberality, broke the axles of the desires (literally, *the vehicles of the minds*) of the party of his foes in such a way that there was no hope of repair; who was very kind-hearted, though he had thoroughly studied the most secret branches of many sciences, arts and chronicles of the world; whose ornament was the splendour of unfeigned modesty and courtesy; who destroyed the rising pride of all his adversaries by the long staff of his arm, which was able[27] to carry off the banner of victory in hundreds of battles; and whose commands were received with joy by the whole circle of princes, whose pride of skill in weapons had been conquered by the strength of his bow.

(L. 22.) His younger brother was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who meditated at the feet of (*his elder brother*); who surpassed all former princes by his good deeds; who, like an incarnation of manliness, conquered even such countries as were difficult to be conquered; who, like Manu himself, was resorted to by subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues; who, (*like*) the moon, possessed all arts (*or digits*), was full of splendour and caused delight, (*but*) who was free from sins (*or spots*); who, (*like*) the sun, destroyed the

[27] The author seems to have formed *pratyala* from the root *al*, which the compilers of the *Dhâtupâṭha* had invented in order to explain the derivation of *alam*.

dense darkness in (*all*) quarters, which were covered by his great splendour, (*but*) who was rising continually; who was versed in both the sciences of government and of Śâlâturîya (*i.e., of Pâṇini*), as he inspired in his subjects perfect trust, which was useful, connected with various purposes and full of profit, as he knew how to decide about peace, war and encampment, as he gave the correct order in the proper place, and as he caused good people to thrive by making virtue prosper [28]; who, though very brave, had a merciful heart; who, though learned, was free from pride; who, though handsome, was full of calmness; who, though constant in friendship, cast out the sinful; and whose famous second name Bâlâditya (*i.e., the morning-sun*) was made true to its meaning (*by the fact that*) the world was pervaded by the affection (*or redness*) of men, which was produced at his rise.

(L. 29.) His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the supreme lord, the lord of great kings, the supreme ruler, the emperor, the illustrious Dharasena, who (*like Śiva*) bore the crescent of the moon on his forehead, as the latter was marked with a scar that was produced through his rubbing the earth, while prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of (*his father*); who, even in his infancy, was distinguished by sacred knowledge, which was as pure as the glittering pearl-ornaments that were fixed in his ears; the tips of whose lotus-hands were moistened with the water (*sprinkled*) at donations (*as the tip of the trunk of an elephant with the rutting-juice*); who gave great delight to the earth, as to a maiden, by imposing light taxes (*or by taking her soft hand*); who, with his bow, seemed to be (*an incarnation of*) the science of archery, as he hit all sorts of aims; and whose commands resembled the crest-jewels which were borne on the heads by the crowd of his bowing vassals.

(L. 33.) The son of his grandfather's brother, the illustrious Śîlâditya, was the illustrious Ḍerabhaṭa, [29] whose head was continually purified by the extremely bright splendour which widely issued from the jewel-like nails of the lotus-feet of (*his father*), when he performed prostrations with his body, which was bent in reverence, just as the head of Vishṇu's son (*is purified*) by the Gaṅgâ (*which issues from the toe of his father*); who possessed the courtesy (*or the southern region*) of the royal sage Agastya himself; who imitated the unbroken circle of the halo of the lord of the night (*i.e., the moon*) in the sky by the extremely bright girdle of his fame, which adorned the nymphs of the quarters; and who was the lord of the earth, whose breasts, (*viz.*) the Sahya and the Vindhya (*mountains*), are adorned with (*black*) nipples, (*viz.*) with peaks, which are darkened by clouds.

(L. 36.) His son is the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena, who has wooed the loving assembly of princes, which wore bright fame as a white garment, and which handed to him the splendour of royalty as the garland at a "self-choice" (*svayaṁvara*); who, in autumn, depending on his valour, which was as irresistible as his sword, that had subdued the territories of fierce enemies, has lawfully taken the hand of (*or levied taxes from*) foreign countries, which were conquered by the

[28] The second meaning of this passage is as follows:—"As he made an affix following roots or crude forms (Pâṇini, III, 1, 2), significant (Pâṇini, I, 2, 45), (*joined with*) indicatory letters for various purposes and completed by an augment, as he knew the truth about euphonic rules, analysis and composition, as he put the correct substitute in the place (*of another*), and as he caused the formation of correct (*words*) by the performance of *guṇa* and *vṛiddhi*."

[29] डेरभट (*not* ईरभट) seems to be the correct form of the name;—see the facsimiles, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, page 211; vol. VII, p. 78.

bow (*of Cupid or of the king*), on which the arrow had been forcibly pulled back; whose ears are again ornamented with jewels, which seem superfluous, as his ears have been already adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds (*or colours*); the tip of whose hand (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the jewels, which cover his gleaming bracelet, and resembles a fresh sprout of (*the aquatic plant*) *śaivala*, as it glitters with the masses of water, which he is continually sprinkling at donations;[30] and who has embraced the earth with his arm, which resembles the coast of the ocean, that wears an armlet of large pearls.

(L. 41.) (*He*), being in good health, issues (*the following*) command to all: "Be it known to you, that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of my mother and father, I gave with a libation of water to the Brâhmaṇa Bhaṭṭibhaṭa,[31] the son of Bappa, who comes from Mahichhaka, dwells at Mahichhaka and belongs to the *chatuṛvedins* of this (*place*), to the *gotra* of the Kauśikas and to the school of the Vâjasaneyas, the village of Paṭṭapadraka, in the southern division (*dakshiṇapaṭṭa*) of the district (*vishaya*) of Śivabhâgapura, as a meritorious gift, with the *udraṅga, uparikara* and *bhûtavâtapratyâya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding grants previously made to temples and to Brâhmaṇas, according to the mode of *bhûmichchhidra*, to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains, and to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons and (*further*) descendants. Wherefore, nobody shall cause obstruction to him if he enjoys (*this village*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (*to others*) according to the usual rule relating to *agrahâras*, which are given to Brâhmaṇas. And future gracious kings of our lineage or others shall assent to this our gift and shall preserve it, recognizing that the royal dignity is very transient, that human life is unstable, and that the reward of a gift of land is common (*to all kings*)."

(L. 47.) And it has been said: [*Here follow three of the customary imprecatory verses*].

(L. 49.) The messenger for this (*grant was*) the *pramâṭṛi* Śrî-Nâga. This was written by the Chief Secretary Śrîmad-Anahila, the son of the Chief Secretary Śrî-Skandabhaṭa, who was charged with peace and war. Saṁ[vat] 334, on the 9th of the bright half of Mâgha. (*This is*) my own handwriting.

[30] The second meaning of this passage is as follows: "(*who resembles an elephant*) the tip of whose trunk (*is resplendent*) with the rays of the wings of the insects, which cover his gleaming tusk-ring, (*and bears*) fresh sprouts of *śaivala* (*plants*) which glitter, as they are continually sprinkled with masses of rutting-juice."

[31] In a notice published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (vol. I, p. 138), I suggested that the Bhaṭṭibhaṭa of the present inscription might be identical with the author of the *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, which was composed, "while king Śrî-Dharasena ruled at Valabhî." This identification, however, is at the least very doubtful, as in the inscription Bhaṭṭi's father is called Bappa, while Jayamaṅgala's *ṭîkâ* calls him Śrîsvâmin.

XIV.—INSCRIPTION IN THE DEHLI MUSEUM.

By Prof. J. Eggeling, Ph.D., Edinburgh.

The inscription, of which the following transcript and translation has been prepared, is now in the Dehli Museum, and is said to have been found in a well at Sarban, about five miles to the south of Dehli,—the Sâravala or Sârabala of the inscription. It is on a rectangular black slab measuring 17 inches by 11, of which the inscription covers 15½ by 10¼ inches. It consists of 16 verses written in 18 lines—the last containing only 6 aksharas of the date, and is in almost perfect preservation; the letters well formed. It belongs to the time of the Sulṭân Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (A.H. 725—752) and is dated V. Saṁvat 1384, Phâlgun Su. di. 5th, Tuesday, which, if intended for the current year, would fall in February 1328 A.D., and records the construction of a well at the village of Sâravala by two brothers—Khetala and Paitala. The date is first given as reckoned by the Vedas (4), Vasus (8), Agni (3), Chandra (1), and then in figures—1384.

L. 1 स्वस्ति ॥ सर्वाभीष्टफलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः ।
लभंते मनुजास्तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ १
2 सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांववत्यांवया सह ।
प्रसादाद्यस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं ॥ २
देशोस्ति 3 हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसंनिभः ।
ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥ ३
तोमरानंतरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं ।
चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥ ४
जथ प्रतापदहनदग्धारिकुलकाननः ।
म्लेच्छः सहावदीनस्तां बलेन जग्रहे पुरीं ॥ ५
ततःप्रभृति भुक्ता सा तुरष्कैर्यावदद्य पूः ।
श्रीमहंमदशाहिस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥ ६ अपि च ॥
तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणिजामग्रोतकनिवासिनां ।
वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाख्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥ ७
लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयो 8 बभूव लक्ष्मीधरांह्रिद्वयपद्मभृंगः ।
देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठचित्तः समस्तभूतावनलब्धकीर्त्तिः ॥ ८
9 लक्ष्मीधरस्तत्तनयौ कलिकालवाह्यावास्तामुभौ महिमवारिनिधी सुरूपौ ।
माहाभिधो निपुणबुद्धिरभूत्तदाद्यो घोकाख्य उत्तमयशा अनुजस्तु तस्य ॥ ९
माहाख्यस्याभवत्पुत्रो मेल्हानामा मनोहरः ।
देवद्विजगुरूणां यः सदाराधनतत्परः ॥ १०
श्रीधरस्यात्मजां वीरोनाम्नीं (? वीरानाम्नीं) भर्त्तृपरायणां ।

घोका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तामुभौ सुतौ ॥ ११

[13]ज्येष्ठस्तयोः खेतलनामधेयः साधुत्वपाथोधिरनंतशीलः ।

पैतूकनामा च लघुः समस्तगुरुद्विजाराधनशीलचित्तः ॥ १२

[14]अथैतयोः खेतलपैतलाख्यसाध्वोः सदा कीर्त्तनकर्मवृद्धयोः ।

इयं शुभा सारवलाभिधानग्रामांतभूरध्यवसत्स्म चित्ते ॥ १३

[15]पितृणामक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै संतानवृद्धये ।

षेतलः पैतलश्चैनं कारयामासतुः प्रहिं ॥ १४

[16]वेदवस्वग्निचंद्रांकसंख्येव्देविक्रमार्कतः ।

पंचम्यां फाल्गुनसिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ॥ १५

[17]इंद्रप्रस्थप्रतिगणे ग्रामे सारवलेत्र तु ।

चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपोयं कारकश्च सबांधवः ॥ १६

[18]संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुनशुदि ५ भौमदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.[1]

V. 1. Hail! Worship be unto that Lord of Gaṇas through constant devotion for whose feet men obtain the fruit of all their desires.

2. May he, who is called Satyala,[2] together with Ambâ and Ambavatî, protect you, that god by whose grace the faithful shall be a vessel of bliss!

3. There is a country, called Hariyâna, a very heaven on earth: there lies the city called Ḍhillikâ, built by the Tomaras,—

4. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Châhamâna kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

5. Thereupon the Barbarian Sahâbadîn,[3] having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

6. Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turashkas to this day: at present Prince Śrî Mahammad Śâhi[4] rules over it.

7. Now, in that city there is a family of merchants dwelling in Agrotaka:[5] in this family was born the Sâdhu Śrî Sâchadeva[6] by name.

8. His son was Lakshmîdhara, the bee of the lotus-pair of (*Vishṇu*) Lakshmîdhara's feet, whose mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brâhmans, and who obtained fame by his kindness to all beings.

[1] A Devanâgarî transcript, prepared (for Mr. J. G. Delmerick) by Paṇḍit Bisasharnâth of Dehli, with an English translation by Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra, appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for May 1873, p. 103 seqq. In the following notes the various readings of the Paṇḍit's transcript have been referred to after renewed careful examination of the impressions taken from the stone.

[2] This epithet (? 'the truthful one'), apparently intended here as a name for Śiva, has not been found in any Sanskrit work.

[3] Rightly identified by Râjendralâla Mitra with Sulṭân Shahâb-ad-dîn Muḥammad Ghori, A.D. 1156-1205.

[4] Muḥammad-bin-Tughlaq, reigned A.D. 1325-1351.

[5] Râj. Mitra takes this to be 'the original, or Sanskrit form, of Agrâ, the merchants or baniyâs of which place are well known all over India as the Agarwâlâ Baniyâs.' Perhaps it may be the name (derived from Agrâ) of the quarter of the town of Ḍhillî where these merchants resided.

[6] Thus the inscription reads, instead of Sâvadeva, as transcribed by the Paṇḍit.

9. Lakshmîdhara had two sons, who were strangers to the Kaliyug (*time of strife and sin*); both of them oceans of greatness, and of goodly form. The first of them was Mâha (or Mâhâ) by name, of subtile mind; and his younger brother named Ghîkâ, of highest renown.

10. Mâha had a charming son, named Melhâ, who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brâhmans and Gurus.

11. Ghîkâ married Śrîdhara's daughter, Vîrâ (?) by name, devoted to her husband: by whom he had two sons;—

12. The elder[7] of them, Khetala by name, an ocean of goodness, and of boundless piety; and the younger, named Paitûka, whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all Gurus and Brâhmans.

13. Now in the thought of those two sâdhus, named Khetala and Paitala,[8] whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, this fair piece of ground at the extremity of the village called Sâravala, was dwelling.

14. Shetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Svarga,[9] and for the continuation of their race, caused this[10] well to be made.

15. Written in the year countable by Veda (4), Vasu (8), Fire (3) and Moon (1), from the time of Vikramârka, on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Phâlguna.

16. In this village of Sâravala, in the pratigaṇa[11] of Indraprastha, may this well, and its author with his family, exist for a long time.

Saṁvat 1384, bright Phâlguna 5, Tuesday.

XV.—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE ANDHRA KING YAJÑAŚRÎ GAUTAMIPUTRA,

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is incised on a stone, which was originally found on the sea-shore south of the Kṛishṇâ river close to the village of China in the Kistnâ district, and is now deposited in the Madras Museum. I edit it according to two rubbings, made over to me by Dr. Burgess. It contains six unequal lines, all of which are mutilated, the lower ones more than the upper ones. The characters are of the ordinary Andhra type, but rather ornamental.

[7] ज्यैष्ठः in the inscription, is of course a mistake for ज्येष्ठः.

[8] Here, and in śloka 14, the Paṇḍit (if his transcript has been faithfully reproduced) has read the name Paituka, which Râjendralâla Mitra naturally takes to be a mere *varia lectio metri causa* for Paitûka (as the name is clearly spelt in verse 12). The inscription, however, undoubtedly has Paitala in verses 13 and 14.

[9] The inscription reads clearly अक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै. What the Paṇḍit took to be an *anusvâra* (अक्षयं) is in reality the lower end of the ो of साध्वीः in the preceding line.

[10] Instead of षेतलः पैतलयैनं the Paṇḍit reads खेतलः पैतुकयैव The *anusvara* is indeed very indistinct, and is perhaps even wanting; the letter itself, however, is undoubtedly न, and not व. It scarcely needs to be remarked that the letter ख and ष are frequently interchanged; hence खेतल in verse 13, and षेतल in 14.

[11] Râjendralâla Mitra suggests that "*pratigaṇe* is perhaps a mislection of *pratigata*, in front of;" though he also remarks that "it evidently stands here for a province or a district." It is probably meant to be the Sanskrit equivalent of pargaṇa; for which one would rather expect प्रगणे or परिगणे.

The purpose of the document is not quite certain. If the syllables *dhâya* at the beginning of l. 6 are the remnant of *Budhâya*, it may have been the record of some Buddhistic donation or dedication.. The chief points of interest which it offers are the date and the expression *vasasatâya* preceding the latter. As regards the date, it is the twenty-seventh year of king Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi, *i.e.*, Gautamîputra Yajñaśrî Sâtakarṇi, who, as the *Vâyu* and *Matsya Purâṇas* assert, ruled twenty-nine years.[1] The close agreement of the figures is very remarkable, and it would seem that the Paurâṇic statement is really true.[2] As we have here quite distinctly *vasasatâya*, it becomes advisable to give up the attempt at reading the corresponding expression in Dr. Burgess' Banavâsi inscription *visasatâya*[3] and the explanation proposed there. At the same time it seems even less possible than formerly to accept Dr. Bhagvânlal Indrâjî's interpretation, who takes it to be equivalent to *varshaśatyâm*, "in the century of years." I still believe that it has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamânavijâyarâjya°* and the like, which occur so often in Sanskrit inscriptions before regnal dates,[4] and I am inclined to fall back on the translation *vaśasattâyâḥ*, which I proposed—*loc. cit* note 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

1. सिधं न[मो भ]गवतो[5] — — — [वस] रञो गीतमि -
2. पुतस अरकसिरियञसातकणिस वससताय संवछर सत[वि] - .
3. मं २० + ७ हेमतानं पखं चतुथं ४ दि[6] — — — — मं ५ एतिय
4. पुवाय अरकमहतरकेन महा[7] — — — — — —
5. याजिना महादं — — — — — —
6. धाय — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to divine.....v a! The year twenty-seven (20+7) of the existence of the power of the king, the lord[8] Siriyaña Sâtakani, the son of the (*Queen of the*) Gautama (*race*), the fourth (4) fortnight of summer, the fifth (5) day—on the above (*date*) by the lord, the Mahataraka[9] Mahâ.e....., a sacrificer, ...to (Bud)dha (?).....

[1] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*, p. 26.
[2] The next latest regnal year of this king in the sixteenth, see *Arch. Rep. Western India*, vol. IV, p. 79.
[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p, 331.
[4] *Loc. cit.*, note 4.
[5] L. 1. After भगवतो five, possibly six, letters have been obliterated. The last two seem to have been वस
[6] L. 3. The lacuna after दि has to be filled up by दि[वसं पंच]म
[7] L. 4. The slanting stroke above ह in महतरकेन seems to be accidental. The next word may be महो
[8] I take अरक to be an equivalent of Sanskrit अर्यक which has the same meaning as स्वामिन् found in the same position in other Andhra inscriptions.
[9] महतरक is probably a title and the same as the Sanskrit महत्तर.

XVI.—THE TWO PRAŚASTIS OF BAIJNÂTH,

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

[Kiragrâma or Baijnâth is a small town in the east of the Kângra district about thirty miles east of Koṭ Kângra, in latitude 32° 3′ N. and longitude 76° 41′ E., at a bend of the Binuân river—a feeder of the Biyâs and on its east or left bank. The number of old temples about the village point to its having been in early times a place of some note. Under the Katoch chiefs or Râjanakas who were tributary to Jâlandhara or Trigarta, it may have been the residence of one of them. But most of its temples are now in ruins. The two of most architectural interest and best preservation are those of Siddheśvara and Vaidyanâtha. The former, at the west end of the town, is now deserted, but consists of a four-pillared maṇḍapa and a shrine, measuring over all about 33 feet by 20, and the *śikhara* is 35 feet high.[1] It faces the east and has two doors in the back wall of the hall on each side of the shrine, to admit of its *parakrama* or circumambulation. A perforated stone window on each side of the hall helped to light it, and in a niche in the south wall has been an inscription on a slab 17″ by 14″, but scarcely a letter is now traceable. In a niche on the outside of the back or west wall is a figure of Sûrya.

The temple of Vaidyanâtha is on the north side of the village, close to the river, and stands in an irregular walled enclosure, about 120 feet from east to west, and from 60 feet wide inside at the east end to 75 at the west, with rooms for the *pûjâris*, &c., on the north and west sides, and several small temples in the court along the north side. The principal temple measures 51 feet by 31 over the base. The maṇḍapa is 20 feet square inside;[2] its roof supported by four round pillars standing on two raised benches on each side the central area. Behind this is a small ante-chamber with two pillars in antis; and beyond it is the shrine, 8 feet square inside, containing a small *liṅgam* and a number of loose images. To the entrance, on the west, is added a porch, with four columns in front, and measuring inside about 8′ 4″ in width by 6′ 6″ deep. The pillars are of early date, but in its present form this addition is probably due to Sansâra Chandra II. of Kângra (1776-1809), who thoroughly repaired and restored the temple in 1786. With the exception of the balcony windows on each side of the maṇḍapa, its walls and inner roof and those of the shrine, however, were not materially interfered with; but the outer roof of the maṇḍapa and the spire of the shrine were either largely reconstructed or covered with so thick a coating of lime, as entirely to mask the original. But whether this is the temple for which the inscription slabs of the beginning of the ninth century were engraved may possibly be questioned: the pillars and some details certainly belong tot hat period; but if there were no such inscription to influence us, the archæologist

[1] In his *Archæol. Survey Reports*, vol. V, pl. xliv, General Sir A. Cunningham has given a plan and elevation of this temple, drawn by himself, which are not correct, especially in the details most essential for estimating its age; the height of the spire above the eaves of the *maṇḍapa* is dwarfed from 21′ 5″ to 15′; the small representations of *śikharas* on the walls are neither of the modern form nor all in the positions represented; and the middle facet of the spire is elaborately carved with 'horse-shoe' or shell diaper carving, similar to that on the ruined temple of Jamadagni in the court of the temple of Vaidyanâtha. The only way one can account for the inaccuracies of this elevation is to suppose that after measuring for the plan, a rough sketch was made of the north side, with the height of the walls measured, and the details left out, or only roughly marked as reproduced in the plate. Mr. Fergusson finds serious fault with this drawing (*Ind. & East. Archit.*, p. 315n.), but mistakes the small temple of Jamadagni in his engraving (p. 316) for this temple of Siddhanâtha or Siddheśvara. The style is quite the same and they belong to the same age.

[2] Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. V, p. 178, says the *maṇḍapa* is *48 feet* square outside: this is probably a misprint for 28 feet.

might be disposed to assign the general structure to a somewhat later date. Tradition says it is the *seventh* restoration; and it seems not improbable that, when Maḥmûd of Ghaznî invested Nagarkoṭ or Kângrakoṭ in 1008, his troops may have wrecked the Vaidyanâtha temple also, and that it was, soon after, rebuilt with such important parts of the old materials as the two *praśasti* slabs and the columns. The inscriptions are on two stone tablets at the ends of the front cross aisle of the maṇḍapa,—No. I, in the south wall, measures 2′ 3″ by 2′ 4″; and No. II, in the north, measures 2′ 3″ by 2′ 5″.

In the niche in the back wall or east side of the shrine outside, is a sandstone figure of Sûrya, wearing a laced jacket, placed in a marble pedestal which is almost hidden by the ledge of the niche, but which bears on its facets an inscription (given below) dated Saṁvat 1296, and recording the dedication of an image of Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tîrthaṁkara. This stone must therefore have come from some Jaina temple in the neighbourhood. And in one of the small temples in the court is an image of Supârśva-nâtha, the seventh Jina.

The small temples in the court are all more or less ruined. They are now named as if dedicated to Jagannâth, Lakshmî-Nârâyana, Bhairava, Jamadagni, Narmadeśvara, and Râdhâ-Kṛishṇa, while one is nameless. In front of the porch is the usual Nandi-maṇḍapa or small canopy over the couchant bull or *vâhana* of Śiva, and behind it is a standing figure of the animal.—J. B.]

In his *Archæological Reports*, volume V, pp. 180-181, Sir A. Cunningham notices two large inscriptions which he found in 1846 in the famous temple of Śiva-Vaidya-nâtha, *vulgo* Baijnâth, at Kîragrâma or Kîrgrâon in the Kângra District of the Panjâb. He gives their date Saptarshi Saṁvat or Lokakâla 80 and Śaka Saṁvat 726, *i.e.*, 804 A.D., as well as a summary of their historical contents, and quotes two verses, I, 39, and II, 6, in full, according to the readings of Bâbu (now Râjâ) Śivaprasâda, C.S.I.[3] The ślokas given in full show clearly that the decipherer has not succeeded in overcoming the great difficulties of his task. For they contain, besides lacunæ, impossible Sanskrit forms, and metrical mistakes. Moreover the historical information extracted from the two documents is by no means exact. Dr. J. Burgess has forwarded to me a double set of paper impressions of the two inscriptions (*A* and *B*), and of late two more (*C*), made under his own superintendence, according to which I now attempt a complete edition.[4] Though the last two, one on thick and one on thin paper, have been made with great care, I find it impossible to solve all the difficulties completely. A great number of indistinct or mutilated letters occur especially in lines 1-14 and at the end of No. I as well as in the first and last lines of No. II. These defects become particularly serious on account of the difficult character of the alphabet. They frequently force the decipherer to have recourse to conjectures which in most cases can be made with great certainty. In one passage of No. I and in three passages of No. II I have failed to find the words required, while one passage in No. I remains doubtful.

The technical execution is in general very good. The characters belong to the Śâradâ alphabet, a branch of the *Brâhmî lipi*, which has been used for many centuries in the extreme north-west of India. Though our inscriptions differ in numerous

[3] See also *loc. cit.*, plate xlii, 5. Sir A. Cunningham refers to an article of Râjâ Śivaprasâda, published in the *Simla Akbar* of 1849, a periodical which is not accessible to me.

[4] A transcript of the historical portions, together with a discussion of their contents in German, has already been published at pp. 11—19 of the *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888. I have now been able to correct the text, given there, in various places, I, 33; II, 7, 14, 29, 31.

details from the modern Śâradâ of Kaśmîr, the type is unmistakeable. This circumstance makes the documents very interesting for the student of palæography. They are the oldest specimens of Śâradâ writing, considerably more ancient than Dr. Leitner's inscription from the reign of "king" Diddâ in the Lahore Museum and even anterior to the coins of Avantivarman of Kaśmîr. Moreover they show pretty clearly the gradual development of the Śâradâ. The initial vowels *a*, *â*, *o*, and the consonants *ka*, *ja*, *bha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, still agree with the forms of the Horiuzi and Nepal palm-leaves, and differ from the modern Kaśmîrian. The initial *e*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *na*, *pa* and *ba* present transitional forms, while *pha* is still more archaic than in the *Brâhmî lipi*. The remaining single letters and a number of groups are the same as in the Śâradâ alphabet. Among them the single consonants *kha*, *gha*, *cha*, *ḍa*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and *la*, the medial *ṛi*, the *Jihvâmulîya*, the *Upadhmânîya*, the groups *jñâ* and those beginning with *ṇa* and *ra*, are peculiarly characteristic of the Śâradâ. In other cases, *e.g.*, in those of the medial *e*, *ai* and *o*, and of the subscribed *ba*, we find considerable vacillations. The medial *e* is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke as in the Śâradâ. Occasionally, however, the ancient *prishṭhamâtrâ* is used. Similarly the medial *ai* is mostly expressed by two horizontal lines, more rarely by a *prishṭhamâtrâ* and one horizontal line. Again, the medial *o* shows in the great majority of cases the peculiar wavy line of the Śâradâ alphabet, which resembles a Greek circumflex. But a few instances occur where it is expressed by *e*, either superscribed or a *prishṭhamâtrâ* plus *â*. As regards the subscribed *ba*, it shows either the peculiar form of the single *ba*, which resembles a modern Śâradâ *va*, or more rarely is hardly distinguishable from *va*. But in one case, *chumbitâḥ*, No. II, l. 3, it is exactly like the modern Śâradâ *ba*. It would lead me too far if I were here to enter on a more detailed discussion of the alphabet of these inscriptions. But the points which have been noticed will suffice to show that it possesses great interest and well deserves a separate full treatment in connexion with the characters on the Kaśmîrian coins, the inscription from the reign of Diddâ and the Champâ grant, published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 7ff. The language of the inscription is pure and good Sanskrit, full of very rare words, which furnish some valuable contributions for the dictionary. The spelling shows very few and slight mistakes. It closely resembles that of the Kaśmîrian MSS. by the constant use of the *Jihvâmûlîya* and of the *Upadhmânîya*, instead of the *Visarga* before *ka*, and *pa*, as well as by the assimilation of the nasals to the following consonants in compound words. The spelling *prakṛiptâvanam* for *prakḷiptâvanam*, No. II, verse 15, too, deserves attention.

No. I consists of two distinctly separate parts, a hymn addressed to Śiva and Pârvatî, which, with its nineteen verses, fills lines 1-16. Then follows a new *Maṅgala*, contained in a single verse, and then only the real Praśasti which gives (1) an account of Lakshmaṇachandra the lord of Kîragrâma; (2) an account of Manyuka and Âhuka, the founders of the temple, which is also briefly described; (3) a notice of various donations made by certain other persons to the temple; (4) a notice of the masons or architects who erected the building; (5) a notice of the poet who wrote the Praśasti; (6) the date, together with a mention of the overlord, the king to whom Lakshmaṇachandra owed allegiance. No. II is of one piece. It contains (1) a *Maṅgala* of five verses; (2) a mention of the king of Jâlandhara, of the two founders of the temple, of Kîragrâma and its lord; (3) a detailed genealogy of the latter; (4) a fuller account of Manyuka

and Âhuka describing their piety and the cause which led to the erection of the temple, and naming their ancestors; (5) an account of various donations made by the founders, by Lakshmaṇachandra and by his mother, together with the usual blessing on those who uphold the grants and curses against those who seize them; (6) an account of the author of the Praśasti; (7) a notice, it would seem, of an additional donation, in prose; (8) the date. The fact that two Praśastis by the same author are found in one temple is unusual. It may be explained by the supposition that the various donations were not made at the same time. The first Praśasti, it would seem, was composed immediately after the temple had been built and the three grants, mentioned in it, had been made. Later, the lord of the village and his mother made also donations. This seems to have rekindled the zeal of the founders. They not only responded to the liberality of their masters by making some further endowments for the temple, but they also had again recourse to the skill of their poet, who now devoted still more verses to the chieftains of Kîragrâma than on the first occasion, and, of course, also duly sang the praises of the piety and liberality of his employers. This explanation is, I think, supported by some hints contained in the inscriptions. The composition of the Praśasti, which I have called No. I in accordance with Sir A. Cunningham's opinion, must be certainly assigned to the time immediately after the completion of the building, because it gives some details regarding the appearance of the latter, because it names the architects who constructed it, and because it begins with the hymn addressed to Śiva and his spouse. It was a natural idea to compose such a poem on the consecration of the new temple. Later, it would have been of less significance. These considerations, it seems to me, definitively settle the chronological order of the two poems.

If we now turn to the historical details which may be gathered from the two documents, those referring to the building of the temple are as follows. In Kîragrâma, either a large village or a small town which belonged to the kingdom of Jâlandhara (I, 39; II, 6, 16) or Trigarta (II, 10, 18) and was situated on the river Kandukâbindukâ (II, 10, the modern Binoa or Binwâ),[5] lived two wealthy merchants, Manyuka and Âhuka, who were brothers (II, 26) and members of an undivided family (I, 28). They were the sons of Siddha (I, 27, 28; II, 23) and Chhinnâ (I. 27). Their grandfather was called Kâhila, the great-grandfather Pâhila, and the father of the latter Śâhila (II, 28). Manyuka, the elder among them, had a wife, named Gulhâ (I, 28). Both were devout worshippers of Śiva (I, 30; II, 8, 9, 26, 27-29), and their zeal for their faith induced them to build a temple for an ancient *liṅga* which stood in Kîragrâma and was called Vaidyanâtha[6] (II, 25). The temple consisted of a *purî*, or adytum, and of a *Maṇḍapa* in front of that (I, 29; II, 25). It was adorned with numerous sculptures, such as the images of the Gaṇas, Śiva's celestial attendants (I. 37), and at the gates stood statues or relievos of the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ and of other divine beings (I, 29).[7] The architects were Nâyaka, son of Âsika, of Suśarmanagara, probably the modern Koṭ Kângrâ, and Ṭhoḍhuka II., son of Sammana (I, 35-37). Immediately after its consecration, the temple received various endowments which, it would seem, were chiefly destined to defray the expenses of the religious services, and perhaps of the repairs

[5] The former name is given in the Kângra *Gazetteer*, p. 21, the latter by Sir A. Cunningham. The river is a tributary of the Vipâśâ or Biâs.

[6] This is a very common appellation of Śiva, and many Vaidyanâthas are found in the most different parts of India.

[7] Compare also the description of the temple in J. Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 315-18, and wood-cut, No. 178.

of the building. The Brâhman Ralhaṇa, an astrologer of Suśarmapura,[8] son of Âsuka, gave two *droṇas* of grain "from Navagrâma" (I, 31, 32), *i.e.*, the right to that amount which had to be delivered annually by the donor's serfs or cultivators in Navagrâma. Another Brâhman, Gaṇeśvara, son of Govinda and inhabitant of Kîragrâma, made a donation of half a plough of land in Navagrâma, where he possessed a field which required four *droṇas* of seed-corn (I, 33). A rich merchant, Jîvaka, son of Depika, and Malhikâ, presented his land in Kîragrâma for the court-yard of the temple (I, 34). Later, the local chieftain Lakshmaṇachandra and his mother Lakshaṇikâ added some further endowments. The former granted daily two *drammas* out of the income of the *maṇḍapikâ*, *i.e.*, the custom-house where the transit, import and export duties were levied (II, 30), and the latter, one plough of land, situated in the village of Pralamba. Thereupon the founders of the temple likewise showed their liberality. They gave an oil-mill which they possessed in Kîragrâma, in order to provide lamps for the temple (II, 33), a shop and a piece of good land, measuring four ploughs, for the *bhoga*, the maintenance of the god (II, 34).

As regards the account of the Râjânakas of Kîragrâma No. II, verses 11-20, gives the following pedigree :—

I. Kanda.
|
II. Buddha.
|
III. Vigraha.
|
IV. Brahman.
|
V. Dombaka.
|
VI. Bhuvana.
|
VII. Kalhaṇa. — Hṛidayachandra, king of Trigarta.
|
VIII. Bilhaṇa married to Lakshaṇika *or* Lakshaṇâ.
|
IX Râma — X Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmaṇachandra married to Mayatallâ.

Kanda is twice called (II, 11, 20) emphatically the founder of the family. The former verse says of him, that he was the root (*kanda*) of an incomparable family (*kula*) which resembles a Bakula tree, and the latter speaks of the servants of the lotus-feet of the kings of Trigarta, the first of whom was Kanda. As his eighth lineal descendant ruled about 800 A.D., he must have lived in the end of the sixth century of our era, or in the beginning of the seventh. Neither he himself nor any of his successors seems to have performed great deeds. The descriptions are purely conventional. Only with respect to Ḍombaka it is hinted that he formed alliances with other kings, and regarding Bilhaṇa we learn that he married the daughter of his liege-lord Hṛidayachandra. The latter point is of some importance, as it shows that the Râjânakas [9] of

[8] Suśarmapura, which is also called Suśarmanagara, seems to have been a place of some consequence. The first part of the compound name probably refers to Suśarmachandra, the reputed founder of the dynasty of Jâlandhara, see Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, vol. V, p. 155. According to the tradition given by Sir A. Cunningham, this prince lived at the time of the Great War, and founded Nagarkoṭ or Koṭ Kângra. Hence it is extremely probable that Suśarmapura is identical with the fortress at the town which is still the capital of the Kângra District.

[9] The title *râjânaka*, literally 'kinglet,' is chiefly known from Kaśmîrian sources. The *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, VI, 261, mentions that Diddâ bestowed it on Naravâhana, one of her generals. Later it has been given to various Kaśmîrian Brâhmans, some of whose descendants still bear it.

Kîragrâma were noble Râjpûts, and, though only feudal barons, stood high enough in the estimation of the world to be thought worthy of an alliance with the royal house of Jâlandhara-Trigarta. It shows, further, that they probably possessed a larger territory than a single village or small town. This view may be supported by the somewhat indefinite statements in I, 27, and II, 20-21, where the country (*deśa*) of Lakshmaṇachândra is mentioned and the assertion is made that he enjoyed the whole territory (*bhûmi*) which his ancestors had held. Finally Bilhaṇa's marriage proves that the Râjânakas of Kîragrâma did not belong, as Sir A. Cunningham conjectures, *loc. cit.*, to a branch-line of the dynasty of Trigarta; for among Kshatriyas exogamy is obligatory in accordance with the sacred law, and marriages between members of the same family or clan are against the generally prevailing custom.

With respect to Râma, Bilhaṇa's eldest son, No. II, verse 19, states that he died early and was dead when the Praśasti was composed. The reigning prince Lakshmaṇachandra is praised also in No. I, 21-26. We are informed that he undertook a pilgrimage to Kedâra, the modern Kedârnâth in Garhwâl,[10] and on this occasion took the vow never to commit a rape on the wife of any of his subjects. This vow, the Praśasti says, he kept most faithfully, and the poet asks with a charming *naïvete*, what austerity could be difficult of performance for a prince whose heart avoided the wives of others, though youth, beauty, money and *complaisant* servants were at his command. The picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one.

Lakshmaṇachandra's liege-lord is mentioned twice, No. I, 39, and No. II, 6. His name is not Jayachandra, as Râjâ Śivaprasâda has read it, but Jayachchandra.[11] He probably was a brother of Lakshmaṇachandra's mother, Lakshaṇikâ, and a son of Hṛidayachandra. But, however that may be, the two inscriptions certainly furnish the names of two rulers of Jâlandhara or Trigarta, who closely followed each other. The history of this dynasty, some members of which are also mentioned in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, has been discussed by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. V, p. 155ff, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 136ff. I have nothing to add to his remarks. But some identifications, such as that of Hiuen Tsiang's U-ti-to with the non-existent Atrchand,[12] have now to be abandoned.

Râma, the poet, who wrote the two Praśastis, introduces his name three times. He names himself at the end of the *Gaurîśvarastotra* (I, 18). In verses 38-39 of the same Praśasti he again says that he wrote the poem and mentions his parents, Bhṛiṅgaka and Sṛiṅgârâ. In the third passage, II, 36-37, he once more names his father Bhṛiṅgaka and adds that the latter was a poet since his earliest childhood and the *pramâtṛi* of the king of Kaśmîr. I am unable to say what the office of a *pramâtṛi*[13] was. The etymological import of the word leads one to suspect that it had to do with spiritual affairs. Regarding himself Râma states in the same passage that he was a young man when he wrote "this poem of simple meaning." In No. I, 36, he calls himself *Kavîśvara*, "a prince among poets." It is very probable that he may have earned this title in spite of his

[10] See the *Gazetteer of India, sub voce.*

[11] This seems to have been a name of more frequent occurrence. The real name of the last Râṭhor of Kanauj, who succumbed to the Ghoris, was also Jayachchandra—see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 10ff. The Jainas, too, call him Jayantachandra, using the Prakrit form of the present participle.

[12] This 'Atr Chand' seems to be the result of a mislection of the word *atulakula* in No. II, verse 11.

[13] The word occurs also in a Valabhî inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 76. But its meaning is there probably different, because it stands before a female name.

youth. Judged by the Hindu standard, he was a great poet, and no European even will dispute his great ability and learning. The fourteen verses, 2-17, of his *stotra*, which each are applicable both to Śiva and to Gaurî, and the puzzling stanza, II, 3, which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences, the frequent change of the metres, and the various *alaṁkâras*, found in both Praśastis, prove his great skill in versification and his mastery over the language. Numerous rare words and forms and the general correctness of his language prove that he had deeply studied grammar and knew the *Koshas* well.

The most difficult point in the inscription is that which still remains undiscussed—the date. The last verse of No. I—

संवत्सरेशीतितमे [प्र]स[न्ने] [ज्येष्ठ]स्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च ।
[श्रीमज्ज]यचन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये रवेर्दिने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः ॥

mentions the year 80 of an unspecified era and the *pratipat* or first day of the bright half of the month Jyaishṭha. Thus much may be considered certain. For, though the first two syllables of the name of the month are damaged, there can be no doubt that they were either *Jyaishṭha* or *Jyeshṭha*. As regards the last word of the first *pâda*, the only certain portions are the *sa* and the final vowel *e*, a well-formed *prishṭhamâtrâ*. The right side of the first sign is badly damaged. I can only think that it was either प्र *pra* or प्रि *pra* + *i*. The third group seems to have been *nne*, but might possibly be read *ndhe*. The word may therefore have been either *prasanne*, as I have assumed, or *prasindhe*, a mistake for *prasiddhe*, as Râjâ Śivaprasâda has read it. In either case it is an adjective, the sense of which does not affect the date. The year is thus decidedly the eightieth, and there can be no doubt that it refers, as Sir A. Cunningham thinks,[14] to the Saptarshi Saṁvat or Lokakâla, which has been used since a long time in Kaśmîr and in the adjoining Hill States. The year 80 of each century of the Lokakâla corresponds to a year 26 of the Śaka Saṁvat and to a year 4-5 of the Christian era.[15] Both Praśastis have, or rather have had, also dates according to the Śaka Saṁvat. In No. I, the Śaka date stood just below the verse quoted above. The compound *śakakâla-gatâbdâḥ*, "the elapsed years of the Śakakâla," is still faintly visible in both impressions. It is best preserved in impression B, and in the latter appears also, just below the interstice, between the ninth and tenth signs of line 33, the remnant of a numeral sign which can only have been 6 or 8. Praśasti No. II has again *śakakâlagatâbdâḥ*, and after this word three numeral signs, the first of which is clearly 7. The following two may have been 26, as Sir A. Cunningham has read them and has represented them on plate xlii, 5, of the *Archæological Reports*, vol. V. But on the impressions they are by no means certain. These data, imperfect as they are, point to the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham arrived, that both Praśastis have been engraved in the same year Saptarshi Saṁvat 80, Śaka Saṁvat 726, *i.e.*, 804 A.D. Unfortunately the further specification in No. I, "the first day of the bright half of Jyaishṭha, a Sunday," raises a difficulty. According to the independent calculations of Mr. J. F. Fleet and Dr. Schram the lunar day mentioned of Śaka Saṁvat 726 corresponds to May 13th, 804 A.D., which was a *Tuesday*, not a *Sunday* as stated in the inscription. I am not in a position to offer a solution of this difficulty. But I believe I may say this much, that whatever the solution

[14] See above, p. 98.

[15] See my *Kashmir Report*, p. 59, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 6ff.

may be, it will not materially alter our opinion regarding the age of the inscription. For Praśasti No. II was clearly incised after Śaka Saṁvat 700 and before Śaka Saṁvat 800, because the first of its three figures is 7.

TRANSCRIPT.[16]

L. 1. ओं [स्वस्ति ओं] नम[ो ग]णपयो[:] ।[17]
यद्यप्यहं पशुपते कुमति[द्र] एव
पर्याप्तभक्तिविव[शे]न मया त[था]पि ।
अस्यां स्तुतौ [अ]वणले[ह्यर]सांशभा[जि]
[गौ]-

L. 2. [र्य]ा सहैव परमेश निमन्त्रितोसि ॥ [१॥][18]
पा[शच्छेद]न[क]र्तरि प्र[ण]मतां मोहान्धकूपबुड -
[ल्लोक]प्रोद्धरण[क्षमे] नि[रु]पमानन्दैक[सं]दायिनि ।
दुर्गे द्वार ◡ — ◡

L. 3. हारिणि हरिब्र[ह्मा]दिदेवस्तुते
भक्तिः क्षेमविधायिनि त्रिनयने त्वय्येव न[स्खा]मिनि ॥ [२ ॥][19]
व्यापद्वल्लि[समू]ल[पा]टन[क]रो त्वं गीयसे स[र्वदा]
[मा]-

L. 4. ता [त्वं] जगतस्तवास्ति न मिति[स्खे]षां [महि]म्नामिह ।
उक्ति × केवलमेव [शो]भत इयं नो देव[मा]तेति ते
संसर्ग× पि[तृ]काननैरु[पचि]तै[रा]श्रीयते च [त्वया] ॥ [३ ॥][20]

L. 5. यस्य[ा]हिमालयो[त्कर्ष]पोषिणी [मू]र्तिरुत्तमा ।
तस्यानमन्ति चरणौ धन्या × केचन जन्तवः ॥ [४][21]
धन्यै[र्न]रैरु[य]वधूस्सदैव [त्व]मुद्यसे [भ]क्ति -

L. 6. भराभिरामैः ।
क्लेशापहारोतिमनोहराभिर्वा[ग्भि] × क[वीना]मुपगीय[से] च ॥ [५][22]
आसन्नमृत्युत्वदशामुपेयुषां पुरेषु नास्थाममरेषु कु -

L. 7. र्वताम् ।
सत्यं भवानीशरणाभिलाषिणां मनोरथं पूरयितुं प्रगल्भते ॥ [६ ॥][23]
मुहुस्समुद्रासिन एव यु[द्ध]क्रो[ड]ानिकृत्तासुरस[र्म]प[स्य] ।

[16] All letters, which are effaced or badly damaged, have been enclosed between square brackets. The numerals marking the verses are not found in the inscription.

[17] According to *A* the last words might also be read *namo gaṇapaye* ||, i. e., *gaṇapataye*. But as clerical mistakes are rare in this inscription, and as the seeming first vertical stroke after the last *akshara* is not quite regular, I prefer the reading *gaṇapayoḥ*, to which *B* and *C* point.

[18] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.—The *anusvâra* of °*pyahaṁ*, is not distinct. Possibly *evaṁ*. The last vowel of °*bhâji* is distinct but the *ja* is not recognisable. The second vowel of *sahaiva* is blurred. The last vowel of *nimantrito* looks like *e*.

[19] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The last vowel of *trinayane* has run together with the *â* of *kûpa* in the upper line.

[20] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita

[21] Metre, Anushṭubh.

[22] Metre, Upajâti.

[23] Metre, Vaṁśastha. The *anusvâra* of *upeyushâṁ* is not distinct.

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